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# REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ON THE

# FEBRUARY 7, 1986 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

SUBMITTED BY THE

UNITED STATES OBSERVER DELEGATION

PREPARED BY THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

AND

THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

JUNE 1986

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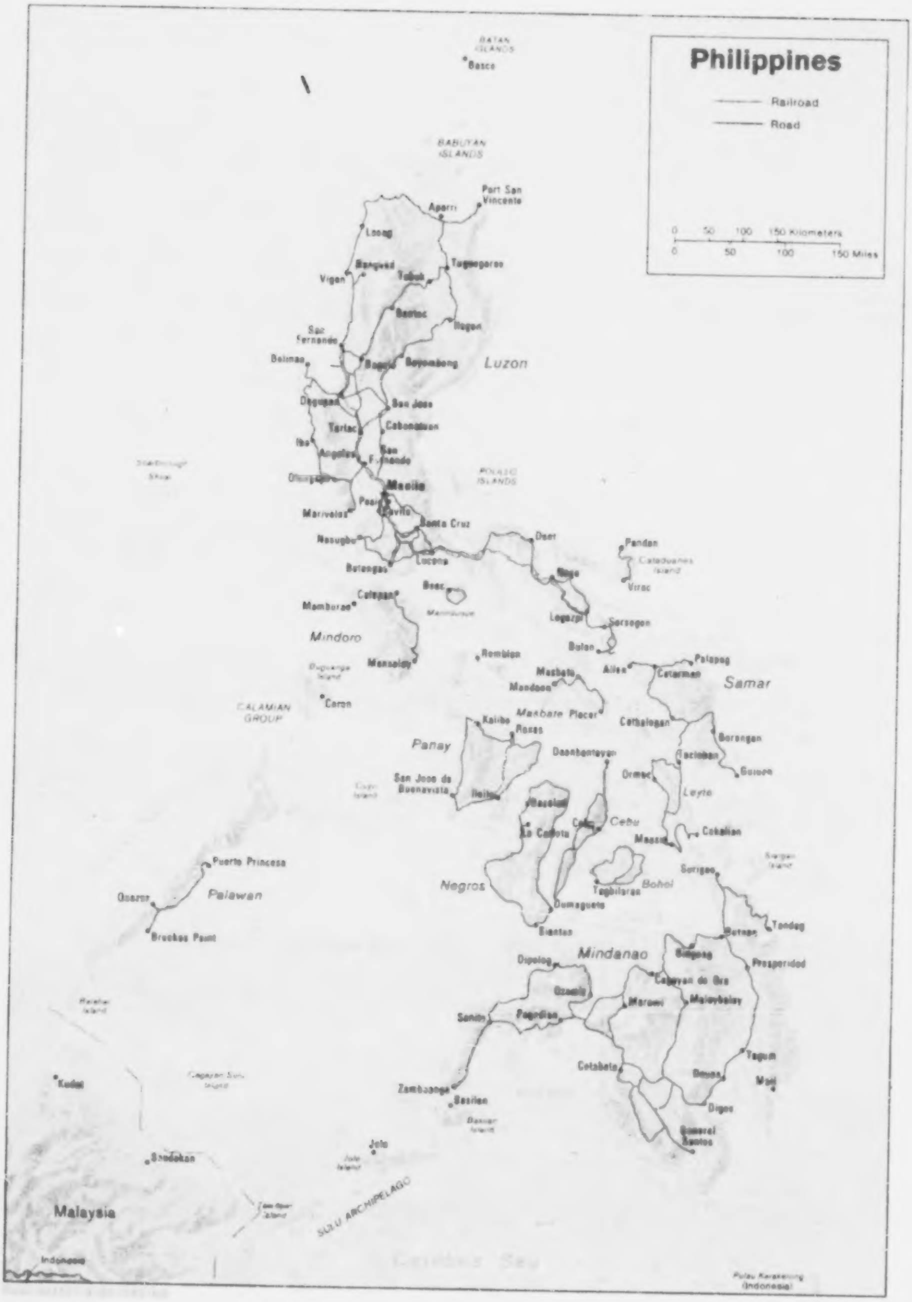
# CONTENTS

Page
Map of the Philippines ..... IV
Index of Exhibits ..... V
Letter of Transmittal ..... VII
Acknowledgements ..... 1
I. Introduction ..... 2
  A. The U.S. Observer Delegation ..... 2
  B. Election Observing Activities ..... 2
  C. Statement by the U.S. Observer Delegation ..... 2
  D. The Second Observer Mission ..... 3
II. Views of the Election: the Internal Philippine Debate ..... 4
  A. The Government/KBL Party ..... 4
  B. COMELEC (Majority) ..... 5
  C. COMELEC (Dissenting View) ..... 6
  D. Opposition/UNIDO-PDP-LABAN ..... 6
  E. NAMFREL (Citizens Arm of COMELEC) ..... 7
III. Executive Summary of the Delegation's Findings ..... 8
IV. Conduct of the Election ..... 10
  A. COMELEC-NAMFREL Disputes ..... 10
  B. Efforts to Remove Accreditation from NAMFREL ..... 13
  C. The Walkout from the COMELEC Quick Count Center ..... 14
  D. Disenfranchisement of Registered Voters ..... 16
  E. Printing and Distribution of Counterfeit Ballots ..... 19
  F. Vote Buying ..... 20
  G. Flying Voter Activity During the Election ..... 20
  H. Violence and Intimidation during the Election ..... 21
  I. The Batasan Count ..... 23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Mariveles
Cavite
Santa Cruz
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Davao
Mati
Zamboanga
Basilan
Digos
Basilan Island
General Santos
Jolo
Jolo Island
Sandakan
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
Malaysia
Tawi-Tawi Island
Indonesia
Celebes Sea
Pulau Karakelong (Indonesia)

# INDEX OF EXHIBITS

| *Exhibit* | *Description* | Page |
|---|---|---|
| A | U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation Team Assignments ............ | 26 |
| B | U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation Statement and list of delegation members. | 27 |
| C | 2/14/86 White House press release on Second Observer Delegation. Second Observer Delegation schedule of meetings and list of delegation members. | 29 |
| D | Executive summary from "A Path to Democratic Renewal" the final report of the Democratic and Republican National Institutes for International Affairs international observer delegation and list of delegation members. | 31 |
| E | U.S. Embassy, Manila memorandum 2/15/86 compiling embassy reports on the conduct of February 7, 1986 election. | 36 |
| F | KBL affidavits from Misamis Oriental on alleged NAMFREL violations. | 45 |
| G | 2/7/86 COMELEC cable to election registrars ordering transmission of returns through PT&T. | 47 |
| H | NAMFREL statistical report on intimidation and denial of presence. | 54 |
| I | 2/6/86 Order from Negros del Norte provincial election supervisor revoking NAMFREL accreditation for Victorias. (Additional material on file with SFRC.). | 57 |
|  | 2/7/86 Order from San Carlos City, Negros del Norte acting election registrar revoking NAMFREL accreditation. | 58 |
|  | 1/27/86 Memorandum from Isabela governor Faustino N. Dy to KBL partisans on NAMFREL. | 59 |
| J | 2/15/86 Affidavit by Pedro F. Baraoidan, project manager, COMELEC National Tabulation Project, on 2/9 walkout of computer programmers. | 63 |
|  | 2/15/86 COMELEC committee report on walkout of computer programmers. | 72 |
| K | NAMFREL draft study on disenfranchisement................................ | 76 |
| L | COMELEC listing of voter turnouts for 1946–84 elections............. | 82 |
| M | 2/8/86 NAMFREL report from Marikina, Metro Manila chairman listing disenfranchised voters. (Additional material on file with SFRC.). |  |
| N | 1/30/86 Letter to COMELEC from UNIDO executive-vice president listing irregular ballots distributed in Camarines Sur. (Additional material on file with SFRC.). | 85 |
|  | Affidavit by Pasig, Metro Manila NAMFREL member detailing circumstances under which counterfeit ballots bearing COMELEC watermark were obtained. | 90 |
| O | 2/13/86 Memorandum from E. Mark Braden to Allen Weinstein detailing vote-buying and other irregularities witnessed during the February 7 election. | 95 |
|  | NAMFREL report from Pangasinan detailing effect of vote-buying on the conduct and outcome of the February 7 election. (Additional material on file with SFRC.). | 96 |
| P | 2/6/86 En Banc resolution of the Supreme Court of the Philippines detailing safeguards ordered regarding special permission to vote granted to members of the armed forces. | 104 |

Page

Q 2/13/86 *Bulletin Today* photograph of the body of Former Antique province governor Evilio Javiier. 107

2/6/86 Telegram from Evilio Javier to Commissioner Ramon Felipe requesting action team from Manila to defuse pre-election tensions in Antique. 108

R NAMFREL statistical report listing volunteers injured, missing, detained, and killed. 109

S KBL affidavits from Sorsogon detailing intimidation of KBL campaign workers. 114

T 2/8/86 Minutes of municipal canvass listing New People's Army preventing conduct of election in precinct 13. 116

2/13/86 Report from Davao City regional election director listing precincts unable to hold election due to actions by unidentified armed terrorists. 117

U 2/11/86 COMELEC resolution 1774 .......... 119

V 2/15/86 Batasang Pambansa resolution 799 proclaiming Ferdinand E. Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino as duly-elected. 124

W UNIDO photographs detailing irregular election returns used in the Batasan canvass of votes. List of irregularities in provincial election returns from Batasan resolution 799. 144

X The Center for Democracy analysis of the Batasang Pambansa canvass of votes. Comparison of Batasan and NAMFREL tally showing undercounting in the "official" canvass. 163

Y COMELEC and NAMFREL "quick count" tallies .......... 165

## EDITOR'S NOTE

Some of the original documents used as exhibits and referred to in the body of this report are not susceptible to clear photo-copying and reduction. In some cases, exhibits included in this printed report are of marginal legibility. However, all materials referred to herein are on file with the Committee on Foreign Relations.

# LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
*Washington, DC, June 9, 1986.*

The President,
*The White House.*

Dear Mr. President: On January 30, 1986, I had the great honor of being appointed by you as co-chairman of the official U.S. Observer Delegation to the February 7, 1986, Philippine Presidential election. With my fellow co-chairman, Congressman John P. Murtha, and the 18 other members of the Delegation, I was witness to an extraordinary manifestation of democracy on the part of the Filipino people. The ultimate result was the election of Mrs. Corazon Aquino as President and Mr. Salvador Laurel as Vice President of the Philippines.

I am pleased, Mr. President, to respectfully submit to you today the final report of the Observer Delegation, as requested in your initial instructions. This report was prepared by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and The Center for Democracy of Boston University.

Sincerely,

Richard G. Lugar, *Chairman.*

## ACKNOWLEI

On behalf of the United States C
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to lead a bipartisan U.S. observe
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Others who assisted the Delegati
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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. THE U.S. OBSERVER DELEGATION

The official bipartisan United States Observer Delegation to the February 7, 1986 presidential and vice presidential election in the Philippines, led by Senator Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) and Congressman John P. Murtha (D-PA), was designated by President Ronald Reagan at the request of then President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

The Delegation included 18 Members in addition to the Co-Chairmen: Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS); Senator John F. Kerry (D-MA); Senator Frank H. Murkowski (R-AK); Congressman Bernard Dwyer (D-NJ); Congressman Jerry Lewis (R-CA); Congressman Robert Livingston (R-LA); Congressman Samuel S. Stratton (D-NY); Fred F. Fielding, counsel to the President; Admiral Robert L.J. Long, USN (ret.), former U.S. commander-in-chief, Pacific, 1979–83; Jack Brier, secretary of state of the state of Kansas; Natalie Meyer, secretary of state of the state of Colorado; Norma Paulus, former secretary of state of the state of Oregon; Bishop Adam J. Mida, Green Bay, Wisconsin; Larry Niksch, Congressional Research Service; Van Smith, former president, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Ben J. Wattenberg, co-editor, *Public Opinion;* Mortimer Zuckerman, chairman, *U.S. News and World Report;* and, Allen Weinstein, president, The Center for Democracy.

### B. ELECTION OBSERVING ACTIVITIES

The Delegation left Andrews Air Force Base on February 5, 1986, arriving at Manila on February 6, and returned to Washington on February 10. The members of the Delegation traveled throughout the archipelago to observe actual voting at the precinct level and the tabulation of votes. The Delegation's full schedule is listed at Exhibit A.

Upon arrival in Manila on February 6, the U.S. Observer Delegation received extensive briefings at the American Embassy. On election day, February 7, 1986, the Delegation divided into eight groups to travel to locations on Luzon, Mindanao and the Visayan islands to watch the balloting and initial vote canvassing. The Commission on Elections' previously announced ban on international observers entering polling places was waived for the U.S. Observer Delegation. This allowed its members virtually unrestricted access to the voting process at the precinct level.

### C. STATEMENT OF THE U.S. OBSERVER DELEGATION

Members of the Delegation regrouped in Manila after election day to review their individual observations. Some found in progress a relatively honest and credible pattern of voting in areas which they visited. Others expressed dismay at incidents which they either had witnessed or had learned of through credible reports by U.S. Embassy and international observers as well as by the international media. Such personal observations and widespread reports of election fraud, violence and irregularities, in the view of many on the Delegation, brought into question at an early stage the election's overall fairness.

After much discussion, the Delegation issued a statement which attempted to reflect the range of internal perspectives. It concluded: "We have observed the passionate commitment of Filipinos to democracy, and we applaud that commitment . . . Sadly, however, we have witnessed and heard disturbing reports of efforts to undermine the integrity of that process, both during the voting and vote counting process which is still underway." The Delegation stated that it would pursue the monitoring of vote tabulation then in progress until its conclusion: "Our mission as observers . . . continues." (Exhibit B.)

### D. THE SECOND OBSERVER MISSION

At the time the delegation left the Philippines, on February 10, the electoral result remained in dispute. Both Ferdinand Marcos and Corazon Aquino claimed victory. Partial tallies at a "quick count" [1] center sponsored by the Marcos-appointed Commission on Elections [COMELEC], after initially showing Aquino ahead, had him holding a 55-45 percent lead, while a "quick count" operation sponsored by the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections [NAMFREL] showed Mrs. Aquino leading by a comparable margin. (Although both counts were supposedly to be based entirely upon tabulation of precinct returns signed by election registrars and representatives of both candidates, it later turned out that only NAMFREL's count met this essential standard, as we will discuss later in the report.) Confusion and uncertainty surrounded the outcome of the election as both candidates claimed victory and as the Batasang Pambansa [2] had not begun an official canvass of votes. It was evident that the election did not end on February 7, especially in light of growing evidence of massive vote fraud perpetrated by the ruling KBL.

In recognition of the need for continued monitoring, within forty-eight hours after the group returned on February 12, the White House announced on February 14 that Professor Allen Weinstein would return to the Philippines with a bipartisan staff on behalf of the Delegation to complete the observation process. (Exhibit C.) This second observer mission remained in the Philippines through Thursday, February 20, 1986. Its members collected documents on the conduct of the election from the principal government agencies, citizens organizations, and political parties involved. The Delegation also met with government and civic leaders, including former President Ferdinand E. Marcos, presidential-claimant Corazon C. Aquino, the commissioners of COMELEC and of its principal citizens' arms, NAMFREL.

The Delegation also benefited from information accumulated by other U.S. and foreign observers of the election, including the following:

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[1] "Quick count" is the term applied to computerized advance vote tabulation based on individual signed precinct returns transmitted via telex to a computer tabulation center. Under Philippine law, "quick counts" do not serve as official tallies but rather are intended either to show voting trends or to provide tabulations against which the accuracy of officially announced results may be compared.

[2] Filipino language for "National Assembly"; short form: Batasan.

—The Democratic National Institute for International Affairs/Republican National Institute for International Affairs' international observer mission, which maintained a presence in the Philippines before, during, and after the balloting. The two Institute groups, which included international government figures, American observers and members of their staffs, later summarized their findings as part of an extensive report on the election. (Exhibit D.)

—The American Embassy in Manila, which sent dozens of its staff throughout the country on election day to monitor the proceedings. The Embassy's election observers submitted over two hundred detailed reports on election procedures and irregularities which were distilled into a single document. (Exhibit E.)

—The international press corps which provided extensive coverage of the election, with hundreds of reporters observing election day and post-election activities. Most notably, perhaps, CBS Television conducted an experimental exit poll of voters throughout the Philippines on election day.

## II. VIEWS OF THE ELECTION: THE INTERNAL PHILIPPINES DEBATE

The post-electoral turmoil encountered by the observer delegation was the subject of intense debate between the government KBL and opposition parties. On February 15, 1986, the legislature or Batasang Pambansa, which had a solid KBL majority, officially proclaimed Ferdinand E. Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino to be the duly elected president and vice president of the Philippines. The Batasan's proclamation touched off a storm. Opposition candidates Aquino and Laurel publicly proclaimed themselves as duly-elected and announced a campaign of nonviolent protest aimed at removing President Marcos.

Because of the complexity of the situation under observation and in fairness to all parties concerned, the Delegation believes it helpful at this point in its report to summarize the factual claims made by major actors in the February 7 presidential election: the Marcos government (KBL), the Aquino opposition coalition (UNIDO/PDP-LABAN), COMELEC, and NAMFREL.

### A. THE GOVERNMENT/KBL PARTY

Members of the government and leaders of the ruling KBL party insisted before, during and immediately after the February 7 election that preparations for the election and the conduct of the voting and vote tabulation occurred in strict compliance with the country's Electoral Code and Constitution. Moreover, government and KBL leaders praised the work of COMELEC, the officially appointed election oversight body.

Government and KBL officials denied allegations of vote buying and intimidation on the part of KBL partisans. In their view, if such incidents occurred, they were isolated and unimportant, without impact on the overall voting tally. Following the election, government and KBL leaders expressed the opinion that despite minor problems, the polling, COMELEC "quick count" and the official canvass of votes conducted by the Batasang Pambansa represented a fair, accurate and credible exercise of the democratic process. (One government minister did tell the delegation that over one million Filipinos were disenfranchised because of election irregularities, but he argued that these votes would have been cast evenly between the two candidates and hence did not affect the result.)

Members of the government and of the KBL universally criticized the conduct of NAMFREL volunteers on election day. In conversation, they suggested that NAMFREL acted in collusion with the opposition to crowd polling places, interfering with the authority of local COMELEC officials. The government and KBL party also patently rejected opposition claims that the Aquino-Laurel ticket won the election.

On February 18, 1986, the second observer delegation met with President Marcos at his request to discuss the election. President Marcos charged that the opposition had engaged in widespread vote fraud. He stated that he intended to establish a special tribunal to examine these violations and to prosecute those responsible. However, he struck a conciliatory note, indicating that the opposition would be given an opportunity to bring similar cases before this tribunal. Other members of the government and KBL shared President Marcos' anger and supported this idea, particularly with regard to charges against NAMFREL.

Following the Batasan's proclamation, government and KBL officials criticized the opposition members' walk-out and decision to boycott the proceedings. They emphasized, at the same time, plans to create a Council of State involving the opposition. Ronaldo Zamora, an adviser to President Marcos, and other key KBL figures underscored the importance of forming such a Council of State. Zamora assured the second observer delegation that the opposition would have its voice in the new Marcos government.

### B. COMELEC (MAJORITY)

The second observer delegation met twice with the commissioners of COMELEC. In these meetings, the commissioners reiterated their assertion of COMELEC's integrity and nonpartisanship as well as its compliance with Philippine law. The commissioners stated that only Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe, Jr. was partisan. They referred to Commissioner Felipe as "their" (i.e. the opposition UNIDO party's) representative at COMELEC. These statements were not made in the presence of Commissioner Felipe.

COMELEC Chairman Victorino Savellano stated that, with the exception of isolated incidents, candidates of both parties had been free to campaign without harassment, and that voters had been free to cast ballots on election day. He estimated that procedural problems with the vote occurred in only 1 percent of the country's 86,036 precincts.

The commissioners charged, however, that NAMFREL had violated the February 4 agreement it signed with COMELEC. Chairman Savellano ascribed this in part to overenthusiasm by NAMFREL volunteers but charged that NAMFREL's leadership instructed its volunteers in training seminars to "swarm" the polls on behalf of the opposition. The chairman further charged that NAMFREL volunteers, who were mandated under the agreement with COMELEC under a complex procedure to transmit the signed precinct tally sheets both to COMELEC and NAMFREL headquarters for tabulation, reneged generally on that agreement. Instead, stated COMELEC, the tally sheets were sent largely to NAMFREL's own "quick count" center in Manila but not to COMELEC.

The bulk of the COMELEC commissioners' time with the Delegation was spent defending itself against election fraud charges and attempting to discredit NAMFREL.

### C. COMELEC (DISSENTING VIEW)

The second observer group met separately with Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe, Jr. at his request. Commissioner Felipe stated that the February 7, 1986 election was "the dirtiest, most fraudulent election I have ever participated in." Commissioner Felipe gave the Delegation a detailed account of his experiences during the election which appear in this report. When asked if the other commissioners of COMELEC were non-partisan, commissioner Felipe replied: "They say they are for the President. They talk about it."

After Mrs. Aquino came to power, during a personal visit by the authors of this report to Manila to collect additional information and material bearing on the election, Commissioner Felipe provided us with a large number of documents reflecting complaints to COMELEC by opposition candidates and by its own officials during the pre-election, election, and post election period. These documents detailed specific allegations of KBL or government-directed fraud, violence, intimidation and irregularities. Although we had requested such materials from the other COMELEC commissioners on our previous visit, we had been led to believe that no such body of complaints about widespread electoral abuse existed, either in telexes or letters. Although commissioner Felipe had described such episodes to us on our previous visits, both his obligations to the then-commission majority and evident threats made against his life inhibited full disclosure at the time.

Commissioner Felipe informed us that COMELEC may not have in its possession or access to, as required by law, the second copy of the official precinct tally sheets, signed by government and opposition representatives on the Board of Election Inspectors. These original signed precinct tally sheets are critical to any independent or internal audit of election results. Local registrars were required to send this copy to COMELEC headquarters in Manila after voting concluded under seal. The Delegation was unable to determine whether these copies remain intact and under COMELEC control.

### D. OPPOSITION/UNIDO–PDP–LABAN

The second observer delegation held separate meetings with leaders of the UNIDO and PDP–LABAN parties. The leaders of both parties had predicted before the election that large-scale fraud would be perpetrated by the ruling KBL party. However, opposition leaders held out the hope that, with the opposition ticket united, it could still attract a sufficiently large number of voters to overcome any cheating.

UNIDO representatives told the Delegation that during the provincial and municipal canvassing of votes, KBL representatives and COMELEC registrars ignored opposition protests of numerous irregular and obviously falsified election returns and, in some cases, excluded its representatives from these proceedings. UNIDO repeated its protests in the Batasang Pambansa when these same falsified returns were included in the final tally which led to the proclamation of Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as president and vice president.

The opposition maintained that, despite the government's concerted effort to steal the election, Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel still attracted enough votes to win. The UNIDO and PDP-LABAN parties announced that their candidates had won the election. On February 16, Mrs. Aquino called a massive rally at the waterfront Rizal Park plaza. Before a crowd estimated by observers at half a million, Mrs. Aquino proclaimed herself and Mr. Laurel as the duly-elected president and vice president of the Philippines. Aquino and Laurel also launched a plan for sustained non-violent protest and a general boycott of products produced by companies controlled by close associates of Mr. Marcos popularly known as "cronies."

UNIDO and PDP-LABAN leaders, moreover, denied allegations that they had engaged in vote-buying and other fraudulent activity on behalf of the Aquino Laurel ticket. They explained, persuasively in our view, that the total UNIDO campaign budget would not have allowed for the massive vote-buying necessary to account for the opposition's strong showing in the election. In addition, they noted that in order to alter or falsify precinct returns or provincial Certificates of Canvass, a party would need the cooperation of local and provincial officials, COMELEC officials, the military and constabulary as well as money and logistical support. With few exceptions, power in the Philippines at all these levels was controlled by the ruling KBL party. UNIDO stated that through KBL control of local and provincial government, the military and constabulary, and the judicial system, the government enjoyed immunity from prosecution for electoral offenses, while the opposition faced the full force of the law for even attempting such fraud.

Groups of armed or unarmed men (in the Philippines, commonly referred to as "goons") threatened and intimidated voters, NAMFREL volunteers, and election or party officials during the election. It is the Delegation's impression that the KBL overwhelmingly had the power and latitude to organize such groups at the local level throughout the Philippines.

### E. NAMFREL (CITIZENS' ARM OF COMELEC)

The second observer delegation met twice with leaders of NAMFREL. The first meeting was held at the NAMFREL Operation Quick Count Center to review NAMFREL's tallies and methods. A second meeting was held at the home of NAMFREL Chairman Jose Concepcion, Jr.

At our last meeting, the leaders of NAMFREL pointed out that there were local areas where their poll watchers had worked harmoniously with COMELEC officials. Nevertheless, NAMFREL's directors made it clear that their dealings with the commissioners of COMELEC had been marked by foot-draging, and at times, outright deception by the commissioners.

NAMFREL noted that, although it sought an agreement on running its "quick count" process from the moment the snap election had been called in November 1985, COMELEC stalled until finally agreeing to a complex three-stage vote transmittal process with NAMFREL only three days before the election. (NAMFREL's similar "quick count" during the 1984 legislative elections was widely credited with reducing vote fraud and, in the process, the overall margin of the government majority in the Batasan). Nevertheless, NAMFREL noted that COMELEC as late as election day violated terms of the February 4, 1986 agreement in its instructions to local COMELEC officials regarding their dealings with NAMFREL.

In the field, NAMFREL asserted that its volunteers were harassed by KBL "goons," and that local chapters of NAMFREL had lost their accreditation or were otherwise excluded from polling places on the orders either of KBL officials or local COMELEC officials only days before the election or on election day itself. Despite such harassment, NAMFREL's leaders stated that they had made a good faith effort to abide by the agreements signed with COMELEC.

Although some of its volunteers may have acted in a partisan or inappropriate manner—"we are not infallible," one NAMFREL director told us—NAMFREL's leaders vigorously denied that they instructed volunteers to crowd polling places or to harass voting in any manner, as charged by KBL leaders and the commissioners of COMELEC. They stated that they had followed "safeguards and criteria" set out before the election. They further stated that, in complying with the terms of their agreement with COMELEC, only one NAMFREL volunteer was present in a polling place at a time, something which Delegation observers confirmed in their own monitoring process.

## III. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Throughout the observer process, initiated at the explicit request of former President Ferdinand E. Marcos, the Delegation closely followed its mandate to gather information on the conduct of the February 7, 1986 election in a nonpartisan manner, avoiding any interference in the election itself. In the process, however, the Delegation collected an archive of first hand observations, recorded remarks and documents which detail the conduct of that election. The revolt of February 22-25, 1986 which led to the installation of Corazon C. Aquino and Salvador H. Laurel as president and vice president of the Philippines has rendered our findings less timely perhaps but no less relevant.

After a careful review of the Delegation's archive, including statistical and signed documentation, interviews with the principal candidates and their advisers and extensive meetings with officials of COMELEC and NAMFREL, we reached the following conclusions:

—Substantial irregularities occurred in the conduct of the February 7, 1986 Philippine presidential and vice presidential election, to the extent that the proclamation by the Batasang Pambansa of Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as the duly-elected president and vice president of the Republic of the Philippines must be considered questionable and not a reflection of the voting will of the majority of the Filipino people;

—After reviewing the reliability of available statistical data, the Delegation concludes that the opposition ticket of Aquino-Laurel won a majority of votes honestly cast;

—The electoral process was marred by government sponsored or supported fraud, violence, and administrative incompetence at every level, including, but not limited to:

- —irregularities in the handling of voter registration by ineptitude and design;
- —harassment and violence against campaign workers;
- —intimidation of voters and poll workers prior to and during the election;
- —deliberate manipulation of tally results;
- —falsification of provincial/municipal certificates of canvass;
- —manipulation of government funds for partisan purposes;
- —and, a general disregard for the provisions of the Philippine Omnibus Electoral Code (Batas BLG 881);

—The vast majority of electoral and statutory offenses were perpetrated by officials of the Philippine government, members of the ruling *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* party (KBL) and their employees and supporters, resulting in a generalized abuse of vested legal, budgetary, military and constabulary authority;

—Nonetheless, millions of patriotic and concerned Filipino citizens exercised their right to vote and faithfully guarded the integrity of the electoral process, including hundreds of thousands of local election officials and NAMFREL volunteers who executed their duties fairly and properly, thereby legitimizing support for a democratic process in the face of attempts to corrupt the results.

The Delegation has based its observations and findings on materials and information provided by all sides involved in the electoral process, pursuing its work without bias for or against either presidential candidate in the February 7 election. Its primary commitment has been to strengthening the democratic process itself as defined by Filipinos within the framework of their own electoral and constitutional traditions.

The degree to which electoral fraud was *centrally* rather than *locally* directed by members of the government and leaders of the KBL has been almost impossible for the Delegation to document. Available documents and interviews conducted by members of the Delegation reveal, however, one clear pattern. Local leaders and partisans of the KBL throughout the Philippines, whether acting on their own authority or in response to orders from Manila, interfered in the electoral process and attempted to ensure a Marcos victory by whatever means.

After reviewing statistical data provided to the delegation by COMELEC, NAMFREL and the Batasan canvass, and taking into consideration the overwhelming evidence of vote-buying, intimidation, falsified returns and other irregularities sponsored by members of the government and the KBL, and Delegation concludes that the election was won by the UNIDO/PDP-LABAN ticket of Aquino and Laurel.

## IV. CONDUCT OF THE ELECTION

This section describes in greater detail the documentation on which the Delegation's conclusions are based.

### A. COMELEC-NAMFREL DISPUTES

COMELEC, as part of its duties outlined in the Electoral Code, appointed several "citizens arms" to aid it in monitoring election day activities. COMELEC designated four such organizations: MOVER, accredited nationwide; the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, accredited to be watchers at 140 vote-canvassing centers; the Civic Assembly of Women in the Philippines, accredited locally; and, NAMFREL, accredited nationwide.

By all accounts, including those of the Marcos government, NAMFREL was the only citizens arm to mount an effective national poll watching organization. The other groups proved only locally important or totally ineffective. NAMFREL fielded an estimated 500,000 volunteers on election day. NAMFREL, according to its directors, was able to station volunteer watchers in some 80 percent of the country's 86,036 precincts.

The commissioners of COMELEC stated in meetings with the Delegation that they had accredited groups in addition to NAMFREL in order to assure the widest possible staffing of the polls by citizen volunteers. Individually, however, the commissioners made no secret of their strong belief that NAMFREL was partisan in its support for the opposition. Leaders of NAMFREL, in turn, indicated their belief that COMELEC accredited pro-KBL groups such as (reportedly) the Integrated Bar of the Philippines in order to influence the activities of poll watchers to hinder NAMFREL's national organizing efforts.

NAMFREL was created by a coalition of civic organizations as a non-partisan grassroots organization to guard the integrity of the ballot. Some of NAMFREL's leaders and key organizers made little effort to hide their sympathy for the opposition, though they insisted upon their ability to function within NAMFREL in a nonpartisan manner. They noted, by way of analogy, the manner in which both Republicans and Democrats in the United States operate within nonpartisan organizations such as the League of Women Voters and as individual, honest pollwatchers.

President Marcos, for his part, provided the Delegation with an archive of affidavits on electoral abuses supposedly perpetrated by the opposition, an archive which reflected KBL perspectives but was substantially prepared by the "nonpartisan" commissioners of COMELEC. The thrust of the material was an argument that NAMFREL volunteers campaigned for the Aquino ticket. The Marcos documents offered almost no credible evidence to sustain this allegation, however, and some of its major illustrative materials were patently unpersuasive. (Exhibit F.) The Delegation found no evidence to sustain the charge that the bulk of NAMFREL volunteers performed their duties prior to, during, and after election day in other than an independent and nonpartisan manner.

The saga of COMELEC's relations with NAMFREL throughout the "snap" presidential election period is a tale of continual harassment and duplicity on the part of the COMELEC commissioners' pro-Marcos majority toward NAMFREL's efforts to construct, practically overnight, a viable nationwide electoral monitoring process in time for the February 7 balloting.

At the time The Center for Democracy's delegation of election lawyers visited the Philippines in December 1985, NAMFREL had not yet been accredited. Although there were assurances from both the COMELEC majority and President Marcos that this would occur shortly, it was not until after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings on the Center's report, which urged NAMFREL's accredidation as basic to any fair and credible election, that COMELEC acted, presumably upon presidential instructions.

Even then, NAMFREL was threatened with a COMELEC requirement that it register for individual review every one of its volunteers. Apart from the administrative burden, this provision would have subjected such individuals to the prospect of intimidation by government officials in their areas. Days before the election, this requirement was abandoned but not before COMELEC had threatened throughout December and January to impose it. Again, a focus on this problem by the U.S. Congress, State Department and American media may have been decisive in constraining COMELEC.

When the Center's delegation visited Manila in December, COMELEC insisted that its members participate in what turned out to be a media-event. The commissioners announced to the country's media a new "Operation Super Quick Count" to be run by a group of private Philippine computer technicians hired by COMELEC. The plan envisioned using 300 computer stations to be created throughout the country's 7,100 islands which would collect precinct voting returns for transmission to a central computer operation in Manila. Despite elaborate charts displayed that day to the media and to the Center delegation, it emerged weeks later that no funds had been authorized by the Marcos government to purchase computers for the 300 centers, train operators, and prepare electoral officials. The elaborate COMELEC scheme existed only on paper and by mid-January was abandoned.

Also in December NAMFREL began to prepare for its own systematic nationwide "Operation Quick Count" independent of COMELEC's and based on its own similar "quick count" for the 1984 legislative elections. The NAMFREL directors briefed the Center for Democracy delegation on preparations already underway to put the proposal into effect. The COMELEC commissioners refused all requests by NAMFREL in December and early January to allow such an independent "quick count."

After COMELEC abandoned plans for its "Operation Super Quick Count," an initial meeting was held between the commissioners of COMELEC and NAMFREL leaders. COMELEC Commissioner Jaime C. Opinion warned that if NAMFREL refused to participate in a *joint* "quick count," COMELEC would withdraw its accreditation, deny it access to telegraph facilities, and deny it access to a certified (fourth) copy of the precinct returns. The Jaycees, also accredited, attempted to set up an independent "quick count" but failed. When COMELEC engaged the National Computer Center, ten days before the election, to set up a COMELEC "quick count," Commissioner Opinion reportedly told NAMFREL leaders that if they wanted to participate, they were to send their computer operators to be interviewed by COMELEC. Finally, on February 4, three days before the election, COMELEC and NAMFREL signed an agreement to conduct a simultaneous, *parallel* "quick count" operation. (Exhibit G.)

The account provided by NAMFREL of its negotiations with COMELEC is essentially accurate. Independent documentation exists to verify NAMFREL's claim that COMELEC was duplicitous in its dealings and in fact actively worked to sabotage NAMFREL's efforts to conduct an independent "quick count" of precinct returns.

The most striking of COMELEC's actions against NAMFREL was the election day order by the Chairman of COMELEC sent by telegram to "all election registrars" informing them that, despite the agreement signed with NAMFREL only two days earlier, precinct returns were not to be transmitted to the Manila COMELEC/NAMFREL "quick count" centers using the Radio Communications of the Philippines company (RCPI) with whom NAMFREL had already conducted two trial runs. Instead, registrars were instructed by COMELEC to authorize the transmission of precinct returns only through the government-owned Philippines Telephone and Telegraph company (PT&T) and only if accompanied by a COMELEC representative:

> You are hereby directed to instruct NAMFREL representative under your jurisdiction to transmit the same tally form thru PT&T only. COMELEC representative must accompany delivery of result to PT&T only within your transmission period. (Signed) Chairman Victorino Savellano COMELEC. (Exhibit G.)

Under the order, NAMFREL volunteers were still authorized to carry the precinct returns to be transmitted. However, NAMFREL found in many cases that registrars were either absent, or refused to sign the precinct tally sheets, or refused to accompany the NAMFREL volunteers as was ordered by COMELEC.

COMELEC denied that it sent telegrams to *all* local registrars instructing them not to cooperate with NAMFREL's plan to transmit authenticated precinct tallies via the RCPI telegraph system. Chairman Savellano insisted that the telegrams were sent only to specific localities where a goverment-owned PT&T office is located and a RCPI office is absent. The telegram, however, appears to have been sent throughout the country to all registrars. It provoked extreme confusion and consternation among local and provincial COMELEC officials and NAMFREL volunteers having been dispatched on election day, February 7, 1986 at 3:15 p.m., 15 minutes after the polls closed, just as the precinct level vote counting was to begin.

## B. EFFORTS TO REMOVE ACCREDITATION FROM NAMFREL

In addition to continued threats from COMELEC commissioners that it would lose its accreditation, NAMFREL faced sporadic but concerted efforts to de-accredit and harass its local chapters. NAMFREL estimated that its volunteers were denied a presence in 8,192 or ten percent of the country's precincts. It was unable to organize in another ten per cent of the 86,036 precincts because of its own internal administrative difficulties. (Exhibit H.)

Three documents, among others available, starkly illustrate the efforts by KBL and government officials to harass and de-accredit NAMFREL as election day approached. The first (Exhibit I), was issued by the COMELEC Office of the Election Registrar of San Carlos City in the province of Negros del Norte. The memorandum to "all board of inspectors," dated February 7, 1986, states that "the local chapter of NAMFREL has been found to be a *partisan one*, according to reliable information and its members are avid supporters of UNIDO, a dominant opposition party . . . the undersigned (Atty. Romeo T. Flora, Acting Election Registrar) hereby *revoked* the accreditation of the local NAMFREL, San Carlos City Chapter, Negros del Norte." (Emphasis in original.)

The second document was issued by Atty. Agustin S. Desyuno, the provincial election supervisor at Cadiz City, Negros del Norte. Dated February 6, 1986 and addressed to "The Board of Election Inspectors Victorias, Negros del Norte," the official document charges three NAMFREL leaders with campaigning in favor of UNIDO candidates. The document states: "Consequently, the NAMFREL representatives . . . appointed by them can also be considered partisan. WHEREFORE, effective today, February 6, 1986, NAMFREL Victorias Chapter accreditation is hereby *revoked.*" (Exhibit I.) (Emphasis in original.)

The third document is an internal KBL memorandum dated January 27, 1986 from the governor of the province of Isabela, Faustino N. Dy, to KBL mayors, municipal authorities and partisans. The memorandum, titled "NAMFREL'S dangerous adventurism," (Exhibit I), accuses NAMFREL volunteers of having "committed acts of intimidation and terrorism" during the May 14, 1984 parliamentary elections. The balance of the memorandum details the strict provisions promulgated by COMELEC for the absolute nonpartisanship of NAMFREL volunteers and prohibitions on NAMFREL being accredited more than one poll watcher per precinct. The memorandum concludes, "Outside of these instructions (the various COMELEC resolutions cited), the acts of the NAMFREL representatives are considered *ultra vires* and the same ought never to be respected or recognized, without prejudice to his possible criminal prosecution."

Note that the document reveals the highest ranking public official in the province of Isabela unilaterally calling on members and supporters of his party to scrutinize, and potentially to harass, citizens associated with the duly accredited citizens arm of COMELEC. In Isabela, NAMFREL was denied a presence in 37 municipalities, affecting a total of 1,238 precincts. This was the single largest denial of presence reported by NAMFREL. (Exhibit H.)

The Delegation can state flatly that, in the absence of NAMFREL volunteers, existing opposition poll watchers were more readily subject to harassment. Without the presence of NAMFREL, ordinary voters had no independent defense against fraud and manipulation of the balloting.

### C. THE WALK OUT FROM THE COMELEC QUICK COUNT CENTER

On February 9, 1986, at 10:30 p.m., 30 computer programmers walked out of the Tabulation Section of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project Organization (NTPO) at the Philippine International Convention Center (PICC). The programmers staged the walk out to protest discrepancies between the tabulation results of their computer print outs and the entries made on the PICC tally board.

The NTPO was instituted eleven days before the February 7 election, after COMELEC scrapped its ill-fated attempt to institute "Operation Super Quick Count." The appointed head of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project was Dr. Pedro F. Baraoidan. Dr. Baraoidan was concurrently head of the National Computer Center (NCC). The second observer delegation met with Dr. Baraoidan on February 17. He stated that the National Computer Center "is attached to the Office of the President" and that he simultaneously held the rank of colonel in the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). He also stated that the computer programmers involved in the walk out were full time employees at the National Computer Center, some of whom had worked at the NCC for as long as ten years.

Another COMELEC commissioner explained to the observer delegation in a separate meeting on February 17 that Commissioner Jaime C. Opinion[3] had contracted Colonel Baraoidan personally, presenting Chairman Savellano with a prepared resolution authorizing Colonel Baraoidan to purchase equipment and hire staff. The resolution reportedly did not include a fixed budget. Commmissioner Felipe stated that he told the other commissioners he wished to study the resolution and submit his opinion in writing. Nevertheless, when Commissioner Felipe returned the following day January 29, 1985, COMELEC Resolution 1763 (dated January 28) had already been signed by the chairman and a press release issued on the retention of Colonel Baraoidan's services.

In meeting with the Delegation, the majority of COMELEC commissioners defended the National Computer's conduct of the COMELEC "quick count." They stated Colonel Baraoidan submitted the lowest "bid," hence his engagement, and carried out his mission honestly and competently. Chairman Savellano stressed, moreover, that there had been no deliberate slow down of the vote count by COMELEC as alleged by many observers at the time.

In a sworn statement, authenticated by Commissioner Quirino A. Marquinez's signature, Colonel Baraoidan himself described the events of February 9. He stated that "the walk out of the thirty programmers and technicians was pre-planned and premeditated as evidenced by the unusual heckling [of] the COMELEC project personnel, the shouting of 'Cory! Cory!', and 'Walk-Out! Walk-Out!' and the fact that the group stood up simultaneously after a signal from Ms. Lina Kapunan. . . ." (Emphasis in original.) The delegation was later told that Ms. Kapunan's husband is a junior officer in the AFP and a member of the reform movement. After being taken to the Baclaran Redemptorist Church, the computer operators were reportedly given sanctuary and protected by reformist officers.

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[3] COMELEC Commissioner Jaime C. Opinion often served as spokesman for COMELEC on television and in press meeting during the post-election period and seemed to be the commissioner most closely associated with leading officials of the Marcos government.

Colonel Baraoidan states in his affidavit that the discrepancies noted by the computer operators "could have been fully explained." His explanation follows:

> . . . the computer print out upon which the "walk out groups" is basing their charge of cheating . . . allowed only telexes of precinct level results [to be used] . . . The system likewise did not allow for the inclusion in the final tally, of telexes which summarize the results for a group of precincts . . . we requested the Chairman of the Commission on February 8, 1986 to allow us to proceed using such summary results . . . [i.e., "summaries" of *groups* of precincts, *not* based upon the individual signed precinct counts which are the only accurate basis of electoral tallies, and without any information provided on who had submitted the group summaries to COMELEC or when—*Delegation Comment*]. With the authorization by the Commission, we then implemented a new system whereby available summary telexes would be incorporated in the final tally at the tabulation board. We decided not to inform the system people or the tabulation group about the system . . . we added an intermediate step . . . we incorporated the summary telexes into the computer printout derived from the individual precincts inputs, prior to posting on the board. (Exhibit J.)

Both Colonel Baraoidan's affidavit and an accompanying Committee Report prepared by COMELEC (also at Exhibit K) note that the NTPO system was found to have ". . . 'bugs' or errors . . . during the early tabulations," that other errors "miscomputed the number of precincts" and that "data diskette errors kept cropping up." According to the COMELEC report, the computer operators who walked out of the PICC took with them program diskettes and passwords for the NTPO system. The system was paralyzed until February 10 and was eventually abandoned when the canvassing of votes began in the Batasang Pambansa.

Although Colonel Baraoidan is apparently correct in believing that the walk out was discussed in advance, rather than spontaneous, his statement nevertheless raises serious questions about the integrity of COMELEC's vote counting process, particularly once the Aquino majority became evident from precinct tallies both at NAMFREL and in its own earliest results.

Changing the programming directions for the computer system in mid-count was an assault upon the integrity of the vote counting process itself. Altering the basis of computation from individually-listed precinct returns, duly certified by all parties to the election, to summaries of groups of precincts about whose genesis or compilation Colonel Baraoidan's affidavit is silent, was a wholesale abuse of honest vote counting. Under the circumstances, whether or not the COMELEC computer operators phoned in advance to assure a friendly reception and sanctuary at the Baclaran Church, their walk out seems justifiable, in the Delegation's view, given the evident manipulation of vote counting by their superiors.

A question arises, inevitably, as to why COMELEC's NTPO computer system was so hastily and haphazardly created in the first place, unless it was to serve the purpose of the government in shaping perceptions of the vote count both within the Philippines and abroad, especially on the question of which candidate had taken an early lead in the results.

By the admission of its own commissioners, COMELEC had no long range plans to install a computerized system for rapidly tabulating incoming precinct results, with the possible exception of the ill-fated "Operation Super Quick Count" in which several NTPO directors participated. According to Commissioner Ramon Felipe, several of his colleagues had even expressed the opinion that, if allowed, "NAMFREL will project an early lead for Cory [Mrs. Aquino] and therefore should not conduct a quick count." When President Marcos was initially presented with COMELEC's plan for a Super Quick Count to tabulate the entire country's vote in thirty-six hours, Commissioner Felipe added, Marcos reportedly replied: "Why so fast?" The entire COMELEC effort to mount *some* "quick count," therefore, strikes the Delegation as a form of damage control designed to minimize the impact of NAMFREL's pre-existing, more systematic, and more professional efforts.

As for the COMELEC count itself, Colonel Baraoidan's own admissions that he and his close associates injected summary results from unspecified sources—representing not individual precinct returns but alleged "groups" of precincts—was a blatant violation of COMELEC's agreement with NAMFREL on governing the "quick count" process. Since there existed no independent verification of the accuracy (or even the *existence*) of these "summaries" except in the calculations of government vote counters apparently intent upon adjusting actual results to useful ones, it is reasonable to conclude that the COMELEC "quick count" was unreliable.

### D. DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF REGISTERED VOTERS

Both during the visit to the Philippines by the full U.S. observer delegation and during the smaller group's subsequent visit, the Delegation heard numerous charges that massive, systematic disenfranchisement of registered voters had occurred throughout the country, especially in Metropolitan Manila and other urban areas.

Opposition and NAMFREL leaders charged that government and COMELEC officials deliberately altered voting rolls in areas dominated by the opposition to exclude individual registered voters. Even some government officials recognized that massive disenfranchisement of voters had occurred. For example, Labor Minister Blas F. Ople, chosen by President Marcos to monitor the international observation process, estimated that one million voters were disenfranchised through the "gross administrative incompetence" of COMELEC. Minister Ople argued that disenfranchisement affected KBL and UNIDO supporters equally.

President Marcos charged that the opposition had orchestrated the exclusion of "one half of the 135,000 voters in Eastern Samar," an area in which he had expected greater support. Opposition leaders, on the other hand, asserted that millions had been disenfranchised in Metro Manila to hold down an expected Aquino landslide in the area and that other regions in which the Aquino-Laurel ticket was highly popular had been the target of deliberate efforts by local registrars to exclude voters opposed to the Marcos regime.

The status of the final revision of voter lists to include new registrants, completed on January 15, 1986, is central to understanding the disenfranchisement issue. UNIDO representatives stated that, as the accredited dominant opposition party, they returned the voter registration lists to local COMELEC registrars immediately following the revision but did not receive their copies of the final voter registration lists until immediately before the election and hence could not adequately monitor the disenfranchisement of voters. UNIDO indicated that it had been "caught off-guard" by this late delivery of registration lists and that, in addition, in many cases registration lists were not posted at precincts as mandated by the Electoral Code. UNIDO cited the province of Camarines del Sur, for example, in which only 43 of 1,065 precincts reportedly had voter registration lists posted.

The commissioners of COMELEC insisted, however, that completed voters rolls were delivered by couriers weeks before the election and that election registrars at each precinct typed and posted the revised lists. The commissioners maintained that COMELEC used designated time on radio and television and space in newspapers to advise voters to check their names at polling places. Commissioner Felipe responded that the old, typed registration lists from the 1984 Batasan election "were never torn down" and remained posted until just before the February 7 election.

Commissioner Opinion stated that voters' names were stricken from the rolls for (a) having failed to register or re-register in 1984, (b) to submit photographs when registering for the February 7, 1986 election, or (c) for failure to vote in 1981 and 1984. Opposition leaders responded that voters could not be excluded for having failed to vote in either the 1981 and/or 1984 elections. While the Electoral Code requires that voters missing two consecutive elections be stricken from the rolls, an entirely new voter registration took place throughout the country prior to the 1984 election. Therefore, voters registered in 1984 could not legally be stricken from the rolls for having missed the 1981 and/or 1984 elections (Code § 123).

Whether local registrars acted on instructions from the COMELEC majority to exclude voters on erroneous grounds such as the above cannot be determined. COMELEC stated that it had received complaints prior to the election that voter registration lists were incomplete or contained names in excess of registered voters for specific localities. COMELEC admitted that "statistical improbabilities" existed in some voter registration lists and vowed to examine these. After the election, however, and despite the acknowledgement by leading Marcos government officials of widespread disenfranchisement, the COMELEC majority maintained an obstinate refusal to admit even that the problem existed: Commissioner Opinion stated flatly "There was no massive, systematic effort to disenfranchise voters."

A draft study prepared by NAMFREL and released in mid-February suggested, by contrast, that as many as three million voters were disenfranchised. This figure was derived by comparing the lower voter turnout for the February 7 election and turnouts for the two preceeding elections against the frequency of incidents of disenfranchisement reported by NAMFREL volunteers nationally. (Exhibit K.) COMELEC Chairman Victorino Savellano countered that voter turn outs for presidential elections are consistently lower than for local or legislative elections. (Exhibit L.)

Chairman Savellano admitted that isolated problems with the voter registration lists stemmed from the reorganization of the voting rolls following the May, 1984 Batasang Pambansa elections. According to Commissioner Opinion, the system of assigning voters to individual precincts was altered in 1984 at the instance of the UNIDO party, through Commissioner Ramon Felipe. Previously, voters were assigned to polling stations by surname. Under the new regime, voters were assigned to polling stations geographically.

Commissioner Felipe suggested, however, that COMELEC, through local election registrars, had acted in concert with other local government officials to identify and exclude opposition voters from the voting rolls. According to Commissioner Felipe, NAMFREL filed a petition at COMELEC two days *prior* to the May 14, 1984 Batasan election objecting to assigning voters to precincts by surname. Following the Batasan election, precinct assignment by surname was changed to the geographical scheme. Commissioner Felipe stated that the process by which this reassignment occured was not documented and that some commissioners of COMELEC may have used this ruling as a pretext in a "concerted design to jumble up the names" on the voter lists distributed for the February 7 election.

A document submitted to the Delegation by NAMFREL partially illustrates the impact of disenfranchisement in Metro Manila. (Exhibit M) The report, submitted by Captain Urso D. Bello, NAMFREL chairman for Marikina, Metro Manila, lists voters "who were not able to vote in Barangay Parang . . . because their names cannot be found in the lists of registered voters in their respective precincts." The "transmittal letter" attached to the list continues: "Despite the fact that petitions were made by several of those named in the attached lists and a court order was obtained by them allowing them to vote, still they were not allowed to vote for the reason that it was already 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon, disregarding Section 190 of Article 17 of the Omnibus Election Code and the ruling of COMELEC Chairman Victorino A. Savellano."[4] The NAMFREL document contains the names and addresses of 206 disenfranchised voters.

The total extent of disenfranchisement and its impact on the results of the election is not easily determined. There is sufficient evidence to indicate, however, that certain areas with large concentrations of opposition voters, such as the middle-class neighborhoods of Metro Manila, experienced substantial disenfranchisement of registered voters. In addition, administrative snafus, either intentional or due to incompetence or both, prevented an even larger number of voters from casting their ballots. The Delegation witnessed long lines of voters in various towns throughout the country. Many of these voters complained that they were either unable to find the proper precinct in which to vote, or left voting stations without voting due to long delays. There was virtually no attention paid by COMELEC's commissioners either before or during the election to rectifying this evident problem.

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[4] Section 190 provides that: "The casting of votes shall . . . end at three o'clock in the afternoon, except when there are voters within thirty meters in front of the polling place who have not yet cast their votes. . . ."

### E. PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTERFEIT BALLOTS

The use of counterfeit ballots was widely reported during the election. In most cases, these ballots appeared on election day, but there were also reports that irregular ballots were distributed prior to the election. In a letter to COMELEC Chairman Victorino Savellano dated January 30, 1986, UNIDO Executive Vice President Luis R. Villafuerte informed COMELEC of the existence of irregular ballots in the province of Camarines Sur.

The letter states that: "about six thousand (6,000) [ballots] were discovered to be manually printed." The letter further states: "The use of these ballots would be violative of the provisions of Sec. 191 of the Omnibus Electoral Code which considers ballots with separately printed serial numbers as spurious . . ." The annex to the letter lists the serial numbers of the ballots in question. (Exhibit N) The irregular ballots in question clearly came from COMELEC, implicating the electoral body in efforts to distribute them. The Delegation was unable to confirm whether COMELEC acted to recall illegal ballots.

A February 15, 1986 affidavit signed by a woman of the Pasig, Metro Manila NAMFREL chapter describes the circumstances under which she obtained a number of counterfeit ballots on election day. (Exhibit N) Lolita Noble Faraon described that on February 7, 1986 she approached "a suspicious looking man . . . who had been there peering into the precinct for about five minutes." According to her affidavit, when she approached the man he turned to flee. She states that she grabbed "a bunch of white pieces of paper" from his hand. The papers were "official" ballots with the names Marcos and Tolentino written on them. Upon inspection, the ballots were identified as counterfeit (see Exhibit N).

On both ballots the COMELEC seal is blurred, while on true ballots the seal is clearly printed. One ballot, however, lists the name of the municipality as "Pasig," while on true ballots the municipality was listed as "Pasig, Metro Manila." This ballot also bears the official COMELEC watermark: "komisyon ng halalan." The fact that this ballot bears the COMELEC watermark confirms that persons other than officials of COMELEC were either given access to or provided with watermarked paper.

The extent to which counterfeit ballots were printed and distributed, and the means by which this took place, cannot be documented. Nevertheless, it proved relatively simple for some members of the official United States Observer Delegation and members of the international observer group to obtain numerous samples of fake ballots in the midst of our travels. How critical a factor such improper ballots became in the election itself, however, is impossible to determine on existing evidence.

## F. VOTE BUYING

Past Philippine elections have witnessed extensive efforts at vote buying, and the February 7 contest was no exception. Traditionally, votes have been "bought" with small sums of cash or gifts of food, and the extreme poverty of rural areas has made vote-buying a routine affair in a number of provinces.

E. Mark Braden, general counsel to the Republican National Committee and a member of the Republican Institute observer group, described the "massive organized vote buying" by government officials which he witnessed in Mindanao:

> Prices for votes ranged from 25 to 200 pesos. It was not sporadic activity, but carefully organized throughout all the areas which we visited. The primary method used was to make an initial payment to the voter the night before the election providing them with half the fee for the vote and a device to ensure that a vote bought did, in fact, stay bought. The device consisted of two parts, one part a carbonized paper, and the second piece appeared similar to an official ballot with the names Marcos and Tolentino printed on it. The voter would take this with him into the polling place, put the ballot on top of it, trace Marcos-Tolentino on the ballot and then return the carbonized sheet in return for the remainder of the payment. We observed this practice at virtually all of the locations we visited. (Exhibit O.)

A NAMFREL report on the conduct of the election in the province of Pangasinan, titled "*Vote-Buying, the Big Difference in Pangasinan,*" detailed the effect of vote-buying on the result of the election. The report states: "On the eve of the election, dole outs in forms of money and food were rampant in the major areas where KBL bigwings [sic] reside or control."

The report concludes: "Generally, the overall results of the elections in Panagasinan was greatly affected by massive vote-buying. The town of Malasiqui where it was expected to be the opposition bailiwick produced a big lead for the incumbent due to the reported dole-out money given to the town mayor. The results could have been different if not for vote-buying." The NAMFREL report is accompanied by a breakdown of votes cast in the province of Pangasinan. Among the listed towns is Santo Tomas where candidate Aquino garnered 0 votes to 4,631 for incumbent Marcos. (Exhibit O.)

The Delegation heard only one complaint about vote buying by the opposition. It came on our second visit from then-president Marcos himself, who charged UNIDO politicians with the practice. According to Mr. Marcos, UNIDO representatives were paying 100–150 pesos per vote. When asked what the going rate for buying votes was prior to this, he replied, "twenty-five pesos." President Marcos did not specify where this activity had taken place or by whom. Other allegations of vote buying against the opposition were similarly unsubstantiated.

## G. FLYING VOTER ACTIVITY DURING THE ELECTION

"Flying voters" is the Filipino term for individuals or groups of people who travel or are brought from one polling place to another, casting multiple ballots, usually in collusion with local officials. Flying voter activity had been a problem in previous Philippine elections. Although civilians have often been employed as flying voters, draftees from the AFP traditionally have also been used. Members of the U.S. Observer Delegation saw, on election day, several groups of young soldiers trucked with military escorts to vote. These soldiers were partially in uniform and some were armed.

Because the 7,100 islands of the Philippines stretch over 1,500 miles, soldiers assigned to active duty often are unable to return to their home towns and villages to vote. AFP Chief of Staff, General Fabian C. Ver, petitioned COMELEC for special dispensation to allow soldiers stationed away from their homes to vote in the February 7 election. COMELEC granted this dispensation through COMELEC Resolution 1768 dated February 5, 1986. The opposition parties challenged the COMELEC resolution in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the resolution but added the following restrictions, among others:

> (1) Each of such military voters must show proof of their being registered voters in the precinct of their respective places of legal residence;
>
> (2) They must show proof of their being on duty as deputies of the COMELEC assigned in the place where they wish to vote, and identify themselves by their serial number and their military unit;
>
> (3) They must not be in uniform;
>
> (4) They must not be carrying any firearms;
>
> (5) They must vote singly or individually and not in groups; * * * (Exhibit P.)

The groups of soldiers observed by the Delegation trucked to polling places and then lined up to vote in Manila and several other areas throughout election day violated all of these restrictions. Several members of the Delegation, including the Co-Chairmen, approached one such group of soldiers which immediately (and nervously) insisted that they were voting on proper orders from their superiors! From this experience and other reports given to the Delegation, it is evident that soldiers, and civilians as well, were used by the government in massive numbers as flying voters throughout the Philippines on election day. The exact impact of flying voter activity on the final results of the election can only be conjectured, but it must be reckoned as a factor in the Marcos-Tolentino vote totals.

### H. VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION DURING THE ELECTION

Violence and intimidation against voters, campaign, workers, and election officials was the most disturbing part of the election. No accurate figures are available on the total number of killings, beatings and threats of violence which occurred during the campaign period and the election.

The most widely publicized election-related act of violence was the murder of the former governor of Antique province, Evilio B. Javier. Governor Javier, a popular opposition leader, was killed on February 11, 1986, reportedly by Philippine Constabulary (PC) forces allegedly directed by Batasan KBL Assistant Majority Leader Arturo F. Pacificador of Antique. Two PC officers were charged with the murder. Pacificador was Javier's long-time rival for power in Antique.

In a telegram sent to Commissioner Ramon H. Felipe on Feburary 6, five days before his murder, Governor Javier stated that he was threatened in the town of Culasi, Antique, by "more than twenty soldiers brisling with Armalites." He reported that "Antique is teaming with unidentified armed men" and that MP "Pacificador campaigned in Culasi using military helicopter." The telegram concludes: "Have previously requested and am reiterating request for official action team from Manila. Repeat from Manila to be assigned to Antique and stay until election results are completed and brought to Manila. If this request is not granted, I am afraid the 1984 ambush massacre will be repeated and more." (Exhibit Q.) Governor Javier was referring to the slaying of several opposition leaders in Antique during the 1984 election. Charges were filed against MP Pacificador in February for these killings, and today he remains a fugitive. The COMELEC commissioners neither investigated nor otherwise acted upon Governor Javier's insistent complaints prior to his murder.

NAMFREL provided the Delegation with a partial listing of incidents of violence and intimidation against its volunteers The list includes 135 separate incidents of woundings, beatings, and harassment of NAMFREL volunteers, including two killings. (Exhibit R.) Specific backup evidence was offered to the Delegation on each case.

The UNIDO's national office monitoring election abuses also submitted an extensive amount of documentation to the Delegation describing alleged violence directed against opposition poll watchers and workers in various provinces (on election day, in Tarlac Province, the Delegation's Co-Chairman talked personally to one such UNIDO official who claimed to have been beaten up by government workers).

For his part, among the documents provided by President Marcos detailing complaints filed by the KBL are a series of 28 affidavits detailing incidents of harassment signed by KBL officials and campaign workers from the province of Sorsogon. Each affidavit is authenticated by the signature of Assistant Provincial Fiscal Honesto J. Borromeo. (Exhibit S.) However, the government did not allege a nationwide pattern of violence directed against its supported by Aquino workers comparable to the one of which opposition and NAMFREL workers complained. The government affidavits, moreover, are all similar in style, unspecific in nature, and usually cite "unidentified men" as the perpetrators.

There were a number of reports that after the Communist New People's Army's (NPA) public vow to boycott the election, the NPA engaged in acts of election-related violence and intimidation. President Marcos stated that Communist insurgents entered numerous rural villages and threatened to kill individuals who voted for the KBL ticket, and UNIDO representatives also complained at times about NPA violence.

A report from Las Navas, Northern Samar, signed by both the KBL and UNIDO representatives, states that precinct 31 was prevented from holding the election by the NPA. Seventeen other precincts had their ballot boxes snatched by unidentified armed men. (Exhibit T.) Resurreccion Z. Borra, regional election director for Region IX, Davao City reported that 13 precincts had ballot boxes snatched, election materials stolen or burned by "unidentified armed terrorists." Southern Mindanao is known to be heavily infiltrated by the New People's Army. These actions affected 3,447 voters. (Exhibit T.)

Acts of violence and intimidation were scattered throughout the country. Available evidence indicates that although some supporters of the government were attacked, more NAMFREL and opposition workers were assaulted by government partisans throughout the country prior to and during the election. A combination of lawlessness, politically motivated attacks, and NPA terrorist acts contributed to a generalized climate of violence during the election.

### I. THE BATASAN COUNT

After the failure of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project Organization (NTPO) "quick count" to complete its precinct level tally of votes, the Batasang Pambansa began its mandated official canvass of votes from provincial certificates of canvass, or election returns. On February 11, 1986, COMELEC promulgated Resolution 1774, which relinquished its authority over "all cases pertaining to or affecting the proceedings of the local boards of canvassers" to the Batasan. (Exhibit U.) The political effect of this resolution was to cede COMELEC's authority over the conduct of the election to the Batasan.

The Batasang Pambansa (in which the KBL held a 2 to 1 majority) completed its canvass of votes on February 15, 1986, and proclaimed Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as the certified winners of the February 7 election. (Exhibit V.) The minority UNIDO party participated in the canvass of votes and protested the counting of many provincial and city election returns on grounds of fraud and irregularities. Before the final vote, however, the UNIDO members walked out. Controlling the necessary votes, the ruling KBL party acted alone in issuing the proclamation. Batasan Speaker Nicanor Yniquez told the Delegation that UNIDO had taken part in the review of all election returns and expressed its complaints. Therefore, he said, the opposition's walk out was meaningless.

UNIDO provided the Delegation with photographs of improperly executed election returns. (Exhibit W.) The photographs show returns with unmatching corresponding envelope seals (UNIDO claims that seventy percent of the returns opened bore this anomaly); returns which do not bear election officials' signatures or thumb marks, as required; returns not bearing the signature of the UNIDO representative; and, COMELEC *copies* of returns, not originals, as required by law. One photograph purportedly shows a return reporting the following information: number of registered voters—379, number of persons who voted—244, number of ballots found in ballot box—472.

Because of many irregularities such as these, UNIDO leaders maintained that the Batasan's canvass of votes and proclamation were illegal. As evidence of deficiencies, UNIDO cited the fact that more votes were counted for president than for vice president. Under the provisions of the Electoral Code, a ballot which lists only the presidential candidate also registers a vote for the vice presidential candidate of the same party. The reverse does not apply. Therefore, to have a higher total vote count for the presidential candidates than for the vice presidential candidates would be statistically impossible.

Independent of the UNIDO complaints, the leaders of NAMFREL stated that various vote tabulations reported to the Batasan by the provincial Boards of Canvassers were in error. NAMFREL based this assertion on a comparison of the official tally with NAMFREL's Operation Quick Count tally. NAMFREL leaders stated that its tally represented accurate vote counts taken from the original COMELEC-approved NAMFREL Operation Quick Count precinct tally sheets duly signed by the COMELEC chairman of the Board of Election Inspectors and the KBL and UNIDO party representatives on the Board of Election Inspectors. NAMFREL leaders stated that only precinct tally sheets verified by these signatures were used in the NAMFREL Quick Count tally and noted correctly that such precinct tallies were the only valid indicators of actual voting.[5]

Close inspection of the Batasang Pambansa's vote counting by the authors of this report, a count detailed in the Batasan's proclamation (Resolution 799) of President Marcos' re-election, reveals gross inaccuracy and administrative incompetence (as in the case of COMELEC's "quick count") sufficient to substantially undermine its reliability. Although Exhibit X describes the problem in detail, the basic facts are these:

1. The Batasan's "official canvass" did not list the number of precincts which it tallied in 53 of the 138 provinces and cities that comprised the national canvass, despite the instruction clearly stated in the Electoral Code that this be done, a Code adopted by the Batasan itself only months earlier;
2. The Batasan's "official canvass" stated in its own final record that it had not counted 1,103 precincts in the fourteen voting regions of the Philippines. In addition, the Batasan's own "official canvass" shows it overcounting 161 precincts not officially listed, 137 of them in President Marcos' home province of Ilocos Norte, which provided him on February 7 with a majority of 189,897 to 718;
3. The Batasan's "official canvass" shows Corazon Aquino's vote significantly *under* counted in a number of provinces and cities when compared with even the *partial* returns provided by NAMFREL's "quick count" using actual precinct returns (Exhibit X), though the actual extent of undercounting may never be known;
4. Overall, 100 of the 138 provinces and towns being counted had their results certified as "official" by the Batasan without

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[5] Section 15 of the Omnibus Electoral Code provides that certificates of canvass must be: "supported by a statement of votes by polling place, in quintuplicate by the use of carbon papers. . . . The five copies of the certificate of canvass must bear the signatures and thumbmarks of all the members of the board. Upon the completion of these certificates and statements, they shall be enclosed in envelopes furnished by the Commission and sealed, and immediately distributed as follows: the original copy shall be enclosed and sealed in the envelope directed to the Speaker of the Batasang Pambansa by the fastest possible means; the second copy shall be likewise enclosed and sealed in the envelope directed to the Commission; the third copy shall be retained by the provincial election supervisor, in the case of the provincial board of canvassers, and by the city election registrar, in the case of the city board of canvassers; and one copy each to the authorized representatives of the ruling party and the dominant opposition political party. Failure to comply with the requirements of this section shall constitute an election offense."

either having their precinct count verified or despite gaping ommissions or additions in that count.

Because of the Batasan KBL majority's violation of its own Electoral Code in declaring Ferdinand Marcos president and because of the improperly prepared election returns about which UNIDO members of the Batasan correctly complained, though without effect, the Delegation concludes that the "official canvass" of votes was conducted in plain and persistent violation of the provisions of the Electoral Code and therefore lacks credibility.

Two plausible reasons occur to the observer Delegation for the government's decision to move rapidly and proclaim an official result on February 15, 1986. First, the proclamation may have seemed useful to Ferdinand Marcos in advance of meeting President Reagan's Special Envoy Ambassador Philip Habib, who was about to arrive in Manila. Second, an expedited Batasan count may have seemed to the KBL—in the context of the general view within the Philippines and abroad that COMELEC's "quick count" had been discredited—the only remaining means of confronting the widely accepted NAMFREL "quick count," which showed Mrs. Aquino leading by a significant margin.

Although NAMFREL's tally accounted for only 73.8 percent of the country's precincts [6] from which it could obtain signed verifiable precinct results, their count stands as the only reliable indicator of genuine national voter preference in the Philippines' presidential election of February 7, 1986. The Delegation had ample opportunity to observe the careful checks and review of precinct returns by the directors of NAMFREL's "quick count" center. By comparison with COMELEC's efforts, which was discredited by admission of its own "quick count" director Colonel Baraoidan, or the Batasang Pambansa's "official canvass," which statistical examination demonstrates in its own figures was thoroughly flawed and partisan, the figures posted by NAMFREL stand as a model of vote gathering under extreme pressures both of time and circumstance. Based upon certified precinct counts, they remain, in the Delegation's view, the most complete and accurate set of national figures gathered after the presidential balloting.

It seems unlikely that better statistical data will emerge, considering the tampering already apparent in the presentation of "official" returns by provincial KBL officials to the Batasang Pambansa. Nor, considering confessions such as the one made by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile that he personally knew of the corrupt creation of 300,000 votes for the KBL ticket in his own province alone, are we likely to require more evidence to establish for most independent observers the truth of our overall conclusion: Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel received a majority of votes actually cast in the presidential election.

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[6] The NAMFREL and COMELEC "quick count" tallies are listed at Exhibit Y.

## EXHIBIT A

### U.S. PRESIDENTIAL OBSERVER DELEGATION TEAM ASSIGNMENTS

### *Team 1—Manila and Central/Southern Luzon*

| | |
|---|---|
| Senator Richard G Lugar | (R-IN) Delegation Chairman |
| Representative John P. Murtha. | (D-PA) Delegation Co-Chairman |
| Allen Weinstein | President, Center for Democracy |
| Charles N. Andreae | Administrative Assistant to Senator Lugar |
| John Plashal | Staff Aide to Representative Murtha |

### *Team 2—Loag (Northern Luzon)*

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|---|---|
| Representative Bernard Dwyer. | (D-NJ) |
| Norma Paulus | Former Secretary of State of the State of Oregon |
| James W. Dwyer | Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (H), Department of State |

### *Team 3—Tarlac (Central Luzon)*

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|---|---|
| Representative Robert Livingston. | (R-LA) |
| Mortimer Zuckerman | Chairman, *U.S. News & World Report* |
| John C. Monjo | Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (EAP), Department of State |
| George F. Allen | Minority Staff Assistant House Appropriations Committee |

### *Team 4—Manila and the National Capitol Region*

| | |
|---|---|
| Senator Frank Murkowski | (R-AK) |
| Van Smith | Former President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce |
| Jack Brier | Secretary of State of the State of Kansas |
| Frederick Z. Brown | Professional Staff Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee |
| John Moseman | Legislative Aide to Senator Murkowski |

### *Team 5—Batangas (Southern Luzon)*

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|---|---|
| Representative Samuel S. Stratton. | (D-NY) |
| Ben J. Wattenberg | Co-Editor, *Public Opinion* Magazine |
| Fred Fielding | Counsel to the President of the United States |

### *Team 6—Tacloban (Eastern Visayas)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Senator Thad Cochran | (R-MS) |
| Natalie Meyer | Secretary of State of the State of Colorado |
| J. Rick Bock | Legislative Management Officer Department of State |

### *Team 7—Cebu (Western Visayas)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Representative Jerry Lewis | (R-CA) |
| Bishop Adam J. Mida | Bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin |
| Larry Niksch | Specialist in Asian Affairs, Congressional Research Service |

### *Team 8—Davao (Mindinao)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Senator John Kerry | (D-MA) |
| Admiral Robert L.J. Long, USN (ret.). | Former USCINCPAC 1979-83 |
| S. Edward Fox | Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs |

## EXHIBIT B

The following is the text of a statement issued in Manila on February 10, 1986 by the U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation to the February 7 Presidential Election in the Philippines. The statement was read by Senator Richard G. Lugar.

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We have spent the past five days in the Philippines observing the presidential election process. President Marcos requested President Reagan to send an official delegation, after which President Reagan requested us, a bipartisan group of congressional leaders and private citizens, to observe the election.

Since arriving, we have met several times with the government's electoral officials of COMELEC and with the leaders of COMELEC's citizen arm, the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). During the voting itself and the early vote counting period, the delegation divided into eight teams, each headed by a member of Congress. The groups traveled throughout the Philippines, visiting dozens of villages, towns, and cities to observe voting and counting in hundreds of precincts. We talked to many participating citizens as well as election officials, representatives of the candidates, and local COMELEC and NAMFREL leaders.

We have observed the passionate commitment of Filipinos to democracy, and we applaud that commitment. In the weeks preceding the election, the people of the Philippines have been involved in a vigorous campaign characterized by lively debate, active campaigning throughout the country, and the mobilization of NAMFREL to monitor the election. The enormous crowds drawn by the candidates and the zeal displayed by the Filipino electorate would be the envy of politicians in our own country.

We saw thousands of people standing in line patiently, often for hours, waiting to vote. From northern Luzon to southern Mindanao, we have observed dedicated people, inspired and motivated by their faith in democracy. Moreover, we have seen concrete examples, both in voting and counting ballots, of success in the administration of the electoral process.

Sadly, however, we have witnessed and heard disturbing reports of efforts to undermine the integrity of that process, both during the voting and vote counting process which is still underway. Even within the last twenty-four hours, serious charges have been made in regard to the tabulation system.

The count is at a critical moment. We share the concern, expressed to us both by government election officials and citizen monitors, that the remainder of the COMELEC and NAMFREL Quick Count Operations proceed to a credible conclusion without further delay. We join all Filipinos of good will in deploring all incidents of election related violence and intimidation.

The process of counting and certifying the results of this election continues. Our mission as observers also continues.

We leave the Philippines today to deliver an interim report to President Reagan. Our final report will include information provided by those who will continue to observe on our behalf the remainder of the current electoral process. Our observation of this election is by no means completed. We have directed teams from the U.S. Embassy, congressional staff, and The Center for Democracy to monitor closely the efforts by COMELEC and NAMFREL to bring their electoral Quick Counts to a rapid and credible conclusion. We will be receiving and evaluating their findings for our final report. It is our hope that, in the days ahead, the current divergence between the two electoral Quick Count tallies will give way to a uniform electoral result that is broadly accepted in the Filipino people.

Each of us takes back to the United States individual memories and a common prayer. Our memories are those meetings with many Filipinos, meetings which have evidenced the strong and historic bonds of friendship between our peoples. Our prayer is that this election process will end soon with the people of the Philippines reconciled through the triumph of the democratic process.

United States Presidential Observer Delegation

| | |
|---|---|
| Senator Richard G. Lugar ....... | Chairman of the Delegation |
| Representative John P. Murtha. | Co-Chairman of the Delegation |
| Jack Brier .................................. | Secretary of State of the State of Kansas |
| Senator Thad Cochran ............. | (R-MS) |
| Representative Bernard Dwyer. | (D-NJ) |
| Fred Fielding.............................. | Counsel to the President of the United States |
| Senator John F. Kerry ............. | (D-MA) |
| Representative Jerry Lewis..... | (R-CA) |
| Representative Robert Livingston. | (R-LA) |

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|---|---|
| Admiral Robert L.J. Long, USN (ret). | Former United States Commander-in-Chief, Pacific, 1979–83 |
| Natalie Meyer | Secretary of State of the State of Colorado |
| Bishop Adam J. Mida | Bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin |
| Senator Frank Murkowski | (R-AK) |
| Larry Niksch | Specialist in Asian Affairs, Congressional Research Service |
| Norma Paulus | Former Secretary of State of the State of Oregon |
| Van Smith | Former President, United States Chamber of Commerce |
| Representative Samuel S. Stratton. | (D-NY) |
| Ben J. Wattenberg | Co-Editor, *Public Opinion* magazine |
| Allen Weinstein | President, The Center for Democracy |
| Mortimer Zuckerman | Chairman, *U.S. News and World Report* |

## EXHIBIT C

THE WHITE HOUSE,
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY,
*Santa Barbara, California.*

For Immediate Release—February 14, 1986

The White House announced that Professor Allen Weinstein, head of The Center for Democracy, and a member of the official U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation to the Philippines special election of February 7, is returning to that country to gather additional information for the Delegation's final report.

Professor Weinstein will be accompanied by Mr. Charles N. Andreae III, Administrative Assistant to Senator Richard Lugar (R–Ind), Chairman of the Observer Delegation; Mr. Richard McCall, Legislative Assistant to Senator John F. Kerry (D–Mass), a member of the Observer Delegation; and Mr. Caleb C. McCarry, Director of International Programs, The Center for Democracy.

Professor Weinstein and his group leave for Manila today.

### SECOND OBSERVER DELEGATION 2/15–2/20/86

| | |
|---|---|
| Professor Allen Weinstein | Delegation Leader, President, The Center for Democracy |
| Charles N. Andreae III | Administrative Assistant to Senator Richard G. Lugar |
| Richard McCall | Special Assistant for Foreign Affairs to Senator John F. Kerry |

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| Caleb C. McCarry | Director, International Programs, The Center for Democracy |

## List of Meetings, Second Observer Delegation to the Philippines, 2/15/86–2/20/86

*Saturday, February 15, 1986*

| | |
|---|---|
| 21:40 | Arrival at Manila International Airport |

*Sunday, February 16, 1986*

| | |
|---|---|
| 07:30 | Meeting with Embassy Staff: Update and Briefing |
| 08:15 | Attended Memorial Mass for Former Governor Javier of Antique at Ateneo de Manila |
| 10:00 | Meeting with Opposition Presidential Candidate Mrs. Corazon Aquino at Ateneo de Manila |
| 11:00 | Meeting with COMELEC Commissioners Savellano, Opinion, Marquinez, Ortiz, Guro and Layosa at COMELEC Headquarters |
| 13:00 | Lunch with NAMFREL leaders Concepcion, Buenaventura, Monsod and Br. Dizon at Manila Hotel |
| 14:30 | Meeting with NAMFREL Leaders and Staff at Greenhills Headquarters |
| 16:30 | View of Opposition Rally at Rizal Park from Manila Hotel |
| 20:30 | Dinner with Minister of Labor Blas F. Ople at Manila Hotel |

*Monday, February 17, 1986*

| | |
|---|---|
| 09:45 | Meeting with Jaime Ongpin, PDP–LABAN leaders at Benguet Center |
| 11:00 | Meeting with COMELEC Commissioners Savellano, Ortiz, Guro, Marquinez and Layosa at COMELEC Headquarters |
| 12:30 | Lunch with Batasang Pambansa Speaker Yniquez and Assistant to President Marcos Ronald Zamora at Manila Hotel |
| 14:00 | Separate Meeting with, Assistant to President Marcos, Ronald Zamora at Manila Hotel |
| 15:30 | Meeting with COMELEC Commissioner Ramon Felipe at Manila Hotel |
| 17:15 | Meeting with Opposition Presidential Candidate Mrs. Corazon Aquino at Conjuangco Building |

*Tuesday, February 18, 1986*

| | |
|---|---|
| 08:30 | Meeting with Director of COMELEC "Quick Count" Computer Operation Mr. Baraoidan, accompanied by Mr. Javier and Mr. Estrella at Manila Hotel |
| 10:05 | Meeting with President Ferdinad E. Marcos, and Foreign Minister Castro at Malacanang Palace |
| 12:20 | Depart Malacanang |

## LIST OF MEETINGS, SECOND OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE PHILIPPINES, 2/15/86–2/20/86—Continued

13:30 Allen Weinstein attended Rotary Club Meeting Addressed by Jose Concepcion of NAMFREL and Commissioner Felipe of COMELEC, Sheraton Hotel

14:30 Meeting with UNIDO leaders Senator Pimentel, Neptali Gonzalez, Jose Yap, Ramon Mitra, Ting Tanjuanco, Ernie Maceda and Lita Binayo at the Cojuangco Building

21:00 Meeting with Ambassador Philip Habib at Ambassador Bosworth's Residence

22:45 Meeting with NAMFREL leaders at Jose Concepcion's Residence

*Wednesday, February 19, 1986*

08:30 Meeting with, Assistant to President Marcos, Ronald Zamora at Manila Hotel

09:45 Telephone Conversation with COMELEC Chairman Savellano to Request Additional Commission on Elections Data

11:40 Allen Weinstein, Charles Andreae and Caleb McCarry Depart Manila International Airport

Richard McCall Remained in Manila for Separate Meetings, Departing on Thursday, February 20, 1986

## EXHIBIT D

## "A PATH TO DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL"

### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

National Republican and National Democratic Institutes for International Affairs

The International Delegation which observed the February 7 presidential election in the Philippines was sponsored by the National Democratic and Republican Institutes for International Affairs and included forty-four individuals from nineteen countries. The co-leaders of the delegation were the former President of Colombia, the Honorable Misael Pastrana, and the Honorable John Hume, a member of the British and European Parliaments from Northern Ireland.

1. *The delegation concludes that the election of February 7 was not conducted in a free and fair manner.* It is our belief that the Government of Ferdinand Marcos and the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) bear the responsibility for this failure.

2. The delegation finds that the National Assembly, the Batasang Pambansa, ignored explicit provisions of the Philippine Electoral Code requiring that tampered or altered Election Returns be set aside during the final counting process—despite protests by representatives of the opposition party. For this reason, and because of

numerous other violations of the Code, *the delegation concludes that the February 15 Batasang proclamation naming Ferdinand Marcos and Arturo Tolentino the winners of the February 7 election was invalid.*

3. At the same time, we observed millions of Filipinos who were committed to making the electoral process work. Principally because of their commitment, the election succeeded in providing a vehicle through which the national will of the Philippines was ultimately expressed.

4. There is no single piece of "smoking-gun" evidence which leads to our determination that the election failed to meet a "free-and-fair" standard; there are instead many "smoking-guns." They include the following:

—The campaign period was marked by numerous violations of the provisions designed to curb improper campaign practices and to limit the Government's use of its power to influence the election;

—The Commission on Elections (COMELEC) did not carry out its responsibility under the election code to provide equal access to the television media during the campaign period. As a result, Marcos benefitted greatly from the partisan-owned and influenced television and radio media, though the opposition had reasonable access to alternative (radio and print) media.

—COMELEC officials were unable or unwilling to deal with the problem of fraudulent registration. Safeguards designed to guard against double voting, including indelible ink applied to voters' fingers, were in many areas either ignored or unenforced. The combination of these two factors contributed to an undetermined amount of double voting.

—An estimated 3.5 million voters were disenfranchised on election day when they could not find their names on the voting register. This resulted in a voter turnout of only 76% in this important presidential election, as compared to 89% in the 1984 Batasang election. This is a major dropoff, especially considering the absence of a well-organized boycott for this election.

—Disenfranchisement appears to have occurred in opposition-oriented provinces or cities. For example, in the ten cities and provinces which had the highest voter turnout, the winner was the ruling party, while in the ten cities and provinces which had the lowest turnout, the opposition won in eight out of ten. Even more striking is that in the cities or provinces where the ruling party won by a margin of 150,000 votes or more, the turnout ranged between 82% and 96% of the vote. On the other hand, in areas where the opposition's margin of victory was greater than 50,000, the turnout ranged between 71 and 81 percent.

—Virtually all members of the delegation observed or were told by credible sources that voters were being paid on election day to vote for the Marcos-Tolentino ticket. In many areas, carbonized sample ballots were used as proof of an individual's vote and as a receipt for payments ranging between 25 to 500 pesos.

—Numerous instances of intimidation of voters were recorded by the delegation; members of the military, the Civil Home Defense Forces, and Barangay officials were commonly implicated.

—Pollwatchers from the designated opposition UNIDO party and the accredited citizen's arm, NAMFREL, were not permitted access to polling places in many provinces.

—Problems relating to the counting of votes occurred during all phases of the process. Major discrepancies between the count kept by NAMFREL—based on hard copies of precinct tally forms signed by all members of the Board of Election Inspectors—and COMELEC recurred throughout the week following the election, evidencing attempts to manipulate the vote count.

—Delegation members reported numerous instances wherein precincts recorded zero votes for Aquino despite the claim of the UNIDO pollwatchers present at the precinct that they voted for Aquino.

—Hard evidences was uncovered of "ghost" precincts, or fictional polling places, wherein the vote was completely fabricated. In one municipality of Southern Leyte, three such precincts were discovered over and above the 55 authorized. In the 55 legitimate precincts, the vote was 6,371 for Marcos and 5,876 for Aquino. In the three ghost precincts, the vote was 900 for Marcos and 9 for Aquino.

—While we have no direct evidence, we believe that the interference with the counting process which occurred after election day was not simply a dispute between COMELEC and NAMFREL over their "quick count" agreement; rather we believe this was part of an effort by the Government and its supporters to buy time so that the above mentioned fraud could be undertaken.

5. The above-listed violations were perpetrated by national and local officials who supported the Marcos-Tolentino ticket. While we cannot exclude the possibility, our delegation did not observe a single election code violation by supporters of the opposition party despite efforts undertaken to monitor their activities.

## ANNEX I

### NATIONAL REPUBLICAN AND NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DELEGATION CO-CHAIRMEN

*John Hume*: Leader, Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland; Member, European Parliament; Member of Parliament, Westminister (NDI).

*Misael Pastrana*: Leader, Conservative Party, Colombia; Former President of Colombia; Vice Chairman of the International Democrat Union (NRIIA).

### DELEGATION

*J. Brian Atwood*: Executive Director, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Jerry Austin*: President, Jerry Austin & Associates, Columbus, Ohio (NDI).

*Manuel Ayau*: Economist and Political Scientist, Guatemala; Founder and Rector, Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Guatemala City (NRIIA).

*Elizabeth Bagley*: Congressional Consultant, Center for National Policy, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Smith Bagley*: President, Araca Foundation and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Errol Barrow*: Leader, Democratic Labour Party of Barbados; former Prime Minister of Barbados (NDI).

*Tabib Bensoda*: Parliamentary Secretary, People's Progressive Party of the Gambia; Member of Parliament (NDI).

*Mark Braden*: Legal Counsel, Republican National Committee, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*John Carbaugh*: Attorney, Vance, Joyce, Carbaugh & Huang, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Glenn Cowan*: President, Cowan and Associates, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Curtis Cutter*: President, Interworld Consultants, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Rick Fisher*: Policy Analyst, Asian Studies Center, the Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Larry Garber*: Attorney; Director of the Election Observer Project, International Human Rights Law Group, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Raymond Gastil*: Director of "Comparative Survey of Freedom," Freedom House, New York (NRIIA).

*Antonio Gomes de Pinho*: Foreign Affairs Director, Centro Democratic Social Party, Portugal (NRIIA).

*B.A. (Al) Graham*: Member and former National President, Liberal Party of Canada; Member, Canadian Senate; Treasurer, Liberal International (NDI).

*Guillermo Guevara*: Christian Democratic Party of El Salvador; President of the National Assembly (NRIIA).

*Robert Henderson*: Program Director, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Robert Hill*: Senator; Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, Liberal Party of Australia; State President for South Australia (NRIIA).

*Patricia Keefer*: Consultant, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Martin Laseter*: Director, Center for Asian Studies, the Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Dorothy Lightborne*: Senator and Special Representative, Jamaica Labour Party (NRIIA).

*John Loulis*: Director, Center for Political Research and Information, Greece (NRIIA).

*Lord George Mackie*: President, Scottish Liberal Party, House of Lords, Scotland-UK (NDI).

*Judy Norcross*: Special Representative, Republican National Committee, Morristown, NJ (NRIIA).

*Patrick O'Malley*: Senior Policy Analyst, John W. McCormick Institute, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA (NDI).

*Juan Carlos Pastrana*: Journalist; Special Representantive, Conservative Party of Colombia (NRIIA).

*Howard Penniman*: Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; international elections expert, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Jose Rodriquez Iturbe*: International Secretary, COPEI of Venezuela (Christian Democrats); Federal Representative, Chamber of Deputies (NRIIA).

*Peter Schram*: President, Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy, Claremont University, Claremont, CA (NRIIA).

*Keith Schuette*: Executive Director, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Ronald Sebego*: Member and Assistant Treasurer, Botswana Democratic Party, Member of Parliament (NDI).

*Elaine Shocas*: Counsel to the Treasurer, Democratic National Committee and to the American Federation of Teachers, Washington, DC (NDI).

*David Steinberg*: President, Long Island University, and author, *The Philippines: A Singular and A Plural Place*, Long Island, New York (NDI).

*Bill Sweeney*: President, Washington Resources and Strategy, Inc., Washington, DC (NDI).

*Dennis Teti*: Foreign Affairs Advisor to Cong. Jack Kemp, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*William Tucker*: Consultant; former Office of White House Counsel, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Steven Wagner*: Director of Administration, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Kathleena Walther*: Program Officer, National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Edward Weidenfeld*: Attorney, former General Counsel to Reagan-Bush campaign, Washington, DC (NRIIA).

*Curt Wiley*: Director of Development, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC (NDI).

*Sue Wood*: President, National Party of New Zealand; Special Representative of International Democrat Union (NRIIA).

(Exhibit E)

MEMORANDUM

February 15, 1986

## ASSESSMENT OF PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
## U.S. EMBASSY - MANILA

### 1. OVERVIEW

WE ARE CONTINUING TO ASSESS THE PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

IN THE HIGHLY CHARGED POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE THAT EXISTS IN THE PHILIPPINES TODAY, THERE IS MUCH INFORMATION THAT IS EITHER HERESAY OR BOGUS. FOR THE PURPOSES OF OUR ASSESSEMENT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE INCLUDED ONLY THAT DATA IN WHICH WE HAVE CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE. AT THIS JUNCTURE, A NUMBER OF JUDGEMENTS CAN BE MADE WITH SOME CONFIDENCE.

--THE RULING KBL PARTY ENGAGED IN SUFFICIENT VIOLATIONS OF THE ELECTORAL CODE TO HAVE MADE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VICTORY AND DEFEAT.

--THERE WAS A NATIONWIDE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE KBL TO DISENFRANCHISE AND INTIMIDATE VOTERS BEFORE ELECTION DAY--ESPECIALLY IN THOSE AREAS CONSIDERED OPPOSITION STRONGHOLDS. VOTE BUYING WAS EXTENSIVE, PERHAPS EVEN EXCESSIVE BY PAST PHILIPPINE ELECTION STANDARDS.

--IN A NUMBER OF AREAS IN WHICH THE KBL IS PARTICULARLY STRONG, NAMFREL AND OPPOSITION PARTY POLL WATCHERS WERE UNABLE TO FUNCTION.

--IN SELECTED AREAS THE KBL SUBSTITUTED FAKE BALLOTS FOR GENUINE ONES AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, FALSIFIED TALLY SHEETS.

## 2. REGIONAL ASSESSMENTS

### NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

THE MOST DISTURBING EVENT IN METRO MANILA WAS THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF VOTERS. IN MAKATI, FOR EXAMPLE, LOCAL KBL CHAIRMEN WENT THROUGH LISTS OF VOTERS IN UPPER-CLASS AREAS AND CROSSED OFF THE NAMES OF DOMESTICS IN ALABANG, LOCAL KBL OFFICIALS SCREENED VOTER LISTS, EXCLUDING ANYONE KNOWN TO BE PRO-AQUINO. IN MAKATI, THERE WERE ALSO SEVERAL INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMED GOONS TO HARASS NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS AND THE STEALING OF THE BALLOT BOXES.

INCIDENTS

--ARMED MEN IN GUADALUPE HARASSED VOTERS AND FIRED WEAPONS INTO THE AIR FORCING NAMFREL TO LEAVE; THEN FLYING VOTERS APPEARED.
--UNIDO INSPECTORS WERE FORCED TO LEAVE PRECINCTS BEFORE VOTE CASTING IN MAKATI.
--ONE THIRD OR MORE VOTERS IN ALABANG WERE DISENFRANCHISED.
--UNIDO'S MAKATI CHAIRMAN WAS ARRESTED.
--THREE BALLOT BOXES ARRIVED AT PASAY CITY HALL STUFFED WITH VEGETABLES AFTER ARMED HOODLIMS STOLE THEM AND DUMPED THE BALLOTS.
--THE CANVASSING WAS STOPPED IN MAKATI AND CALOOCAN CITY FOR UNEXPLAINED REASONS.

### REGION ONE

EMBASSY TEAMS WITNESSED NO INCIDENTS OF FRAUD, BUT NOTED THAT NAMFREL AND UNIDO WERE ABSENT THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE REGION. THEY RECEIVED NUMEROUS REPORTS IN PANGASINAN, THE REGION'S MOST POPULAR PROVINCE, THAT THE KBL USED ARMED MEN AND THREATS TO INTIMIDATE VOTERS AND NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS IN THE PROVINCE. THEY CITED STATISTICALLY IMPROBABLE RESULTS IN ILOCOS NORTE.

INCIDENTS

--IN LAOAG, ILOCOS NORTE, THE VOTE WAS STATISTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE--30,000 TO 500.
--IN BANKO, MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, ARMED MEN FORCIBLY EVICTED UNIDO INSPECTORS, OPENED BALLOT BOXES, AND DESTROYED BALLOTS.

--IN TADIAN, MOÜTAIN PROVINCE, BALLOT BOXES FROM TWO PRO-OPPOSITION AREAS WERE STOLEN.
--IN SISON, PANGASINAN, BALLOTS WITH AQUINO'S NAME ON THEM WERE DESTROYED.
--PROVINCIAL RETURNS FROM ILOCOS NORTE INCLUDED 157 PRECINCTS THAT WERE NOT OFFICIALLY LISTED IN THE PROVINCE; KBL OFFICIALS SAID THAT BECAUSE OF LARGE NUMBERS OF NEW VOTERS IN THE PROVINCE, NEW PRECINCTS HAD BEEN CREATED.
--VICE GOVERNOR ROQUE ABLAN FLEW MILITARY MEN AROUND IN HELICOPTERS AND ALLOWED THEM TO VOTE WHENEVER THEY LANDED.
--IN ADAMS, OUT OF 457 REGISTERED VOTERS, 955 RPT 955 VOTED FOR MARCOS--0 FOR AQUINO.
--IN SAN NICOLAS, THE VOTE WAS 15,137 FOR MARCOS TO 0 FOR AQUINO.

## REGION TWO

EMBASSY TEAMS WITNESSED SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS BY THE KBL, WORKING WITH COMELEC, TO PREVENT NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTION BY INSISTING THAT EACH NAMFREL VOLUNTEER BE PERSONALLY ACCREDITED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS. THE TEAMS RECEIVED NUMEROUS REPORTS THAT THE KBL HAD CAMPAIGNED UP TO AND INCLUDING ELECTION DAY, HAD BOUGHT VOTES, INTIMIDATED THE OPPOSITION, AND EVEN CANCELLED THE ELECTION IN TWO TOWNS ALLEGEDLY THREATENED BY THE NPA. THE PROVINCIAL CANVASSING WAS DELAYED THROUGHOUT THE REGION, AND COMELEC EMPLOYERS IN MANILA CHARGED THAT RETURNS FROM REGION II WERE BEING DELAYED AND MANIPULATED SIGNIFICANTLY.

### INCIDENTS

--NAMFREL WAS NOT ALLOWED TO OPERATE IN QUIRINO PROVINCE, NOR IN VARIOUS OTHER MUNICIPALITIES THROUGHOUT REGION.
--TWO UNIDO SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED IN QUIRINO; OTHERS ARE REPORTED MISSING. (RECENT NEWSPAPER REPORTS CLAIM ANOTHER FIVE UNIDO SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED IN QUIRINO.)
--ARMED CHDF MEN WERE SIGHTED INSIDE PRECINCTS IN SOLANA, CAGAYAN.
--FIVE NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS WERE ARRESTED IN SANTIAGO; OTHERS WERE FORCED TO LEAVE PRECINCTS.
--NUMEROUS PRECINCTS REPORTED ZERO VOTES FOR AQUINO IN REGION.
--OVER 20 BALLOT BOXES WERE REMOVED FROM PRECINCTS IN SALONA, CAGAYAN.

--A TALLY OF 99.5 PERCENT WAS REPORTED FOR MARCOS IN REINA MERCEDES, ISABELA, WHICH WOULD BE IMPROBABLE.

## REGION THREE

EMBASSY TEAMS SAW ARMED MEN THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE OF TARLAC, AND WERE UNABLE TO LOCATE NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS IN SEVERAL TOWNS RIFE WITH REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION. THOUSANDS OF VOTERS WERE DISENFRANCHISED IN OPPOSITION STRONGHOLDS IN PAMPANGA AND TARLAC. THE TEAM RECEIVED CONSISTENT REPORTS OF MASSIVE FRAUD, INCLUDING THE STEALING OF BALLOT BOXES IN TARLAC.

### INCIDENTS

--ONE THIRD OF THE VOTERS IN BAMBAN, TARLAC WERE DISENFRANCHISED WHEN VOTER LISTS WERE SWITCHED ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTION.
--ARMED MEN STOLE A BALLOT BOX IN SAN ANTONIO AND SHOT AT NEWSMEN WHO TRIED TO FILM THE INCIDENT.
--NAMFREL WAS FORCED THROUGH INTIMIDATION TO WITHDRAW IN CONCEPCION, THE HOME OF CORAZON AQUINO.
--ALL NEW VOTERS, NUMBERING 12,000, WERE EXCLUDED FROM REGISTRATION ROLLS IN SAN FERNANDO, PAMPANGA.
--FIFTEEN BALLOT BOXES WERE STOLEN IN CONCEPCION, TARLAC; SIX WERE RECOVERED BY NAMFREL.

## REGION FOUR

EMBASSY TEAMS REPORTED THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF VOTERS IN THIS OPPOSITION STRONGHOLD WERE DISENFRANCHISED THROUGH VARIOUS MEANS, MOSTLY THROUGH THE CHANGING OF VOTING LISTS. NAMFREL AND THE OPPOSITION APPEARED WELL ORGANIZED, BUT THE TEAMS CONTINUED TO HEAR REGULAR REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION AND VOTE BUYING.

### INCIDENTS

--EMBASSY TEAM WITNESSED UNIFORMED SOLDIERS PREVENTING A NAMFREL VOLUNTEER FROM ENTERING A PRECINCT IN CALAMBA, LAGUNA AND SAW PC-INP IN EVERY PRECINCT THEY VISITED.
--ARMED MEN STOLE BALLOT BOXES IN SAN PASQUAL, BATANGAS.
--RETURNS IN CAVITE WERE OPENED BY THE PROVINCIAL TREASURER, WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF THE PROVINCIAL CANVASSING BOARD, IN VIOLATION OF ELECTION LAWS.

--IN CAVITE, ONLY 399,000 OUT OF 514,000 REGISTERED VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED.
--APPROXIMATELY 150,000 VOTERS IN LAGUNA WERE DISENFRANCHISED.
--MARCOS WON BY A 10 - 1 MARGIN IN SEVERAL TOWNS IN LAGUNA IN WHICH NAMFREL AND UNIDO WERE NOT ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE.

## REGION FIVE

THE EMBASSY TEAM NOTED THAT THE BIGGEST PROBLEM IN THE REGION WAS THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF A LARGE NUMBERS OF VOTERS. THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS OF BALLOT BOXES BEING STOLEN AND OF MILITARY "FLYING VOTERS". NAMFREL AND UNIDO POLLWATCHERS WERE GENERALLY ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTING PROCESS WITHOUT PROBLEM.

### INCIDENTS

--44 BALLOT BOXES WERE STOLEN IN CAMARINES DEL SUR.
--10 - 15 PERCENT OF VOTERS WERE DISENFRANCHISED IN CAMARINES DEL SUR.
--SOLDIERS VOTED ILLEGALLY IN NAGA CITY.

## REGION SIX

THE ELECTION IN THIS REGION WAS MARRED BY MASSIVE FRAUD, INTIMIDATION, AND VIOLENCE, INCLUDING THE INTIMIDATION OF A U.S. OBSERVER TEAM AND THE ASSASSINATION OF AN EX-GOVERNOR OF ANTIQUE, JAVIER. OBSERVERS HEARD WIDESPREAD REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT OF NAMFREL AND UNIDO PERSONNEL AND OF ARMED MEN TAKING CONTROL OF PRECINCTS.

### INCIDENTS

--EX-CONGRESSMAN ALDEGUER BROUGHT IN 40 HEAVILY ARMED MEMBERS OF THE "LOST COMMAND" FROM MINDANAO TO ILOILO.
--NAMFREL WAS COMPLETELY EXCLUDED IN NEGROS DEL NORTE AND THE UNIDO CHAIRMAN WAS SUMMARILY DISCHARGED BY THE COMELEC REGISTRAR.
--OPEN BALLOTING TOOK PLACE IN CARLOS, ILOILO.
--A UNIDO WORKER WAS SHOT IN THE BACK IN DINGIE, ILOILO.
--EMBASSY OFFICERS WERE THREATENED BY ARMED MEN.
--EX-GOVERNOR JAVIER WAS KILLED IN SAN JOSE, ANTIQUE APPARENTLY BY LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS.

--80 PERCENT OF ALL BALLOT BOXES IN CADIZ WERE NOT COUNTED IN THE PRECINCTS, INSTEAD THEY WERE COUNTED AT A LOCAL SCHOOL WHERE NAMFREL WAS NOT ALLOWED TO OBSERVE.
--UNIDO POLLWATCHERS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO ENTER PRECINCTS IN SOME AREAS.
--10,000 - 15,000 VOTERS WERE DISENFRANCHISED IN ILOILO.

## REGION SEVEN

ALTHOUGH OBSERVERS IN CEBU AND BOHOL DID NOT PERSONALLY WITNESS INCIDENTS OF FRAUD DURING VISITS TO POLLING PLACES IN NORTHERN CEBU AND SOUTHERN BOHOL, THEY SAW WIDESPREAD EVIDENCE OF VOTER INTIMIDATION, VOTE BUYING, AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT.

### INCIDENTS

--IN MOST LOCATIONS, SOME REGISTERED VOTERS WERE UNABLE TO FIND THEIR NAMES ON REGISTRATION LISTS AND WERE NOT ALLOWED TO VOTE.
--THE BALLOT BOX FOR ASTURIAS WAS DELIVERED TO THE CANVASSING CENTER IN CEBU CITY OPEN AND UNLOCKED. THE COUNT WAS AN UNLIKELY 309 FOR MARCOS AND 6 FOR AQUINO.
--INITIAL LARGE MARGINS FOR AQUINO IN ASTURIAS, TABUELAN AND TABAUAN WERE REVERSED AS BALLOTS FROM REMOTE PRECINCTS, SHOWING LARGE MARCOS VICTORIES, ARRIVED.
--EDGAR GICA, THE KBL MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF CANVASSERS IN CEBU CITY WAS CAUGHT BY NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS TRYING TO SLIP A FAKE TALLY SHEET FROM HIS BRIEFCASE INTO A PILE OF AUTHENTIC RETURNS.
--PRIOR TO THE ELECTION, THE COMELEC REGISTRAR IN TABUGAN TOWN, JUAN PEQUE, RESIGNED AFTER DESCRIBING CHEATING CARRIED OUT BY KBL MAYOR RAMON DURANO, JR. OF DANAO CITY DURING THE 1984 ELECTION. PEQUE CITED THREATS AGAINST HIS LIFE BY DURANO AS THE REASON FOR HIS RESIGNATION.
--OBSERVERS WITNESSED "COMELEC CHECKPOINTS", MANNED BY A PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY UNIT IN COMPOSTELLA, WHICH WERE INSTRUCTED TO OBTAIN CLEARANCE FROM DANAO CITY BEFORE ALLOWING NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS TO PASS. THUS, NAMNFREL WAS PREVENTED FROM OPERATING IN DANAO AND DECLARED THE ELECTION NULL AND VOID THERE.
--ARMED MEN OF DURANO INTIMIDATED VOTERS AT POLLING PLACES IN DANAO.

## REGION EIGHT

OBSERVERS FOUND LITTLE EVIDENCE OF IRREGULARITIES IN VISITS TO POLLING PLACES IN LEYTE. INDELIBLE INK WAS NOT AVAILABLE AND BALLOTS WERE IN SHORT SUPPLY IN SOME AREAS. NO OTHER PROBLEMS WERE REPORTED.

ACCORDING TO NAMFREL REPORTS THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS TOOK PLACE IN REGION EIGHT:

--IN NORTHERN LEYTE A LOCAL COMELEC REGISTER WOULD NOT SIGN IDS FOR NAMFREL SUBSTITUTES.
--THE NAMFREL HEADQUARTERS IN LEYTE WAS RAIDED BY MILITARY MEN.
--IN NORTHERN LEYTE THERE WERE REPORTS OF VOTE-BUYING, MISSING NAMES ON VOTER LISTS, DELIBLE INK, AND SEVERAL VIOLENT INCIDENTS. OPEN BALLOTTING REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE IN AT LEAST ONE MUNICIPALITY.
--BALLOTS WERE SEEN INSIDE THE HOUSE OF THE CITY TREASURER OF TACLOBAN, SANTOS SATORRE.

## REGION NINE

EMBASSY OBSERVERS REPORTED WIDESPREAD VOTER INTIMIDATION AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT DIRECTED AGAINST THE OPPOSITION, ESPECIALLY IN RURAL AREAS. OVERALL, THE ELECTION APPEARED TO BE RELATIVELY CLEAN AND FAIR.

INCIDENTS

--SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION, A BOMB BLAST DEMOLISHED AN OPPOSITION-OWNED RADIO STATION IN ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR.
--IN DUMALINAO TOWN, MARCOS REPORTEDLY WON WITH MORE VOTES THAN THERE ARE REGISTERED VOTERS.
--IN PAGADIAN CITY, AN ESTIMATED 5 - 20 PERCENT OF VOTERS AT POLLING PLACES WERE UNABLE TO FIND THEIR NAMES ON VOTERS LISTS.
--KBL VOTE BUYING WITH CASH AND GOP RICE WAS EVIDENT, CARRIED OUT BY GOVERNOR UBAY'S KBL PEOPLE.
--IN ISOLATED CASES, ARMED GROUPS (CHDF) COERCED VOTERS AND RESTRICTED ACCESS TO POLLING PLACES.
--ELECTION LISTS WERE SNATCHED AND ELECTIONS WERE CANCELLED IN 7 PRECINCTS IN ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR.

## REGION TEN

NO REPORTS AVAILABLE.

ACCORDING TO NAMFREL REPORTS THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS TOOK PLACE IN REGION TEN:

--VOTERS WERE HARRASSED IN DON MARIANO, MISAMIS OCCIDENTIAL. SOME PEOPLE WERE PREVENTED FROM VOTING. THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS OF "OPEN VOTING" AND "OPEN BALLOTS."

--IN THE TOWNS OF CARMEN, CABATBARAN, AND BUENAVISTA IN THE PROVINCE OF AGUSAN DEL NORTE BALLOT BOXES WERE REPORTEDLY SWITCHED. CARBON PAPER WAS USED TO MAKE RECORDS OF VOTES, AND VOTE BUYING TOOK PLACE. THE ABOVE ALLEGEDLY TOOK PLACE WITH THE "CONNIVANCE" OF THE ARMY, ESPECIALLY IN BUENAVISTA.

--NAMFREL WAS ORDERED OUT OF THE PRECINCTS BY THE MAYOR AND ASSEMBLYMAN IN THE PROSPERIDAD, AGUSAN DEL SUR.

--IN THE PROVINCE OF MISAMIS ORIENTAL, A JUDGE AND HER BROTHERS WERE SHOT ON THEIR WAY TO CAST THEIR VOTE.

## REGION ELEVEN

VOTER TURNOUT WAS SIGNIFICANTLY SMALLER FOR THE SNAP ELECTION THAN FOR THE 1984 ELECTION IN SPITE OF EXPANDED REGISTRATION LISTS. EMBASSY OBSERVERS ATTRIBUTE THIS TO DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF 10 - 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTING POPULATION. NEW REGISTRATION LISTS COMPILED FOR THE ELECTION WERE REPORTEDLY SHOWN TO BARANGAY OFFICIALS IN SOME AREAS, WHO IDENTIFIED LIKELY OPPOSITION SUPPORTERS FOR EXCLUSION FROM THE LISTS. PARAMILITARY FORCES AND KBL STRONGMEN EXCLUDED UNIDO AND NAMFREL REPRESENTATIVES FROM NUMEROUS POLLING PLACES. OBSERVERS IN DAVAO CITY REPORTED THAT THE ELECTION TRANSPIRED IN A CALM AND ORDERLY MANNER

INCIDENTS

--IN SOUTH COTABATO APPROXIMATELY 275,000 PEOPLE VOTED AS COMPARED TO 301,000 IN THE 1984 ELECTION. IN SULTAN KUDARAT APPROXIMATELY 95,000 PEOPLE VOTED AS COMPARED TO 120,000 IN 1984. THIS IS IN SPITE OF ADDITIONAL REGISTRATIONS.

--IN AREAS WHERE MANY ARE ILLITERATE, KBL OFFICIALS FILLED IN BALLOTS FOR THOSE UNABLE TO DO SO THEMSELVES.
--ONE BALLOT BOX WAS SNATCHED IN REGION 11.
--A UNIDO WORKER WAS STABBED TO DEATH ON HIS WAY HOME FROM GUARDING BALLOT BOXES IN GENERAL SANTOS CITY.

## REGION TWELVE

OBSERVERS REPORTED MASSIVE FRAUD IN THE FORM OF BOUGHT VOTES, VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT, VOTER INTIMIDATION, AND TERMINATION OF VOTING BEFORE ALL HAD VOTED. NAMFREL WAS NON-EXISTENT AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL IN LANAO DEL SUR. HEAVY MILITARY PRESENCE WAS USED TO MUSTER VOTES FOR MARCOS OR MINIMIZE THE OPPOSITION VOTE.

### INCIDENTS

--A LARGE NUMBER OF SOLDIERS WERE OBSERVED IN MARAWI, LANAO DEL SUR, WHERE VIOLENCE WAS WIDESPREAD AND VOTER INTIMIDATION, ATTRIBUTABLE TO MARCOS ASSOCIATE ALI DIMAPRO, WAS APPARENT.
--IN COTABATO, MAGUINDANAO, MANY VOTERS WERE UNABLE TO LOCATE THEIR NAMES ON VOTER REGISTRATION SHEETS.
--OBSERVERS REPORTED VOTER POPULATIONS THAT WERE 300 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN SOME KBL CONTROLLED TOWNS IN MAGUINDINAO. IN THESE SAME AREAS OBSERVERS NOTICED VERY FEW PEOPLE AT THE POLLS AND TYPICAL RETURNS OF 350 - 0 FOR MARCOS. TOWNS IN THE SAME AREA WHICH WERE NOT INFLUENCED BY KBL POWER BROKERS SHOWED A TYPICAL MARGIN OF 2 - 1 FOR AQUINO.
--NAMFREL WITHDREW FROM PROVINCIAL CANVASSING IN LANAO DEL SUR, CITING LACK OF COMELEC COOPERATION AS THE REASON.
--CANVASSING FOR THREE QUARTERS OF ALL MUNICIPALITIES IN MAGUINDANAO WAS COMPLETED BY THE KBL DURING A SHORT RECESS WHEN UNIDO REPRESENTATIVES WERE OUT OF THE ROOM, A PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TASK.
--IN LOCALITIES WHERE AQUINO WAS EXPECTED TO DO WELL IN LANAO DEL SUR AND LANAO DEL NORTE, VOTER TURNOUTS WERE SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THAN DURING THE 1984 ELECTION. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES CAST IN MUNICIPALITIES OF OPPOSITION STRENGTH TENDED TO BE NOTICEABLY LOWER THAN THE COMPOSITE AVERAGES IN BOTH PROVINCES.
--IN KAROMATAN, LANAO DEL NORTE, RETURNS WERE BROUGHT TO CANVASSING CENTERS IN A CARDBOARD BOX AND SHOWED A STATISTICALLY IMPROBABLE WIN FOR MARCOS.

(Exhibit F)

## KBL AFFIDAVITS ALLEGING NAMFREL VIOLATIONS

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
MUN. OF KINOGUITAN ) S.S.
PROVINCE OF MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

### AFFIDAVIT

I, LOURDES TAMBILING, of legal age, married, filipino citizen, with residence at Poblacion, Kinoguitan, Misamis Oriental, after having been duly sworn in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

That I am the Municipal Kagawad of my municipality and as such I received reports of NAMFREL violations in connection with the presidential election held last Friday, February 7, 1986, and among those verified to be true are the following:

A certain voter named Lucresia Cabaltera was harassed and threatened by a NAMFREL member named Miss Verginia Acenas by holding said voter searching in her bra, pocket and some part of her body for a sample ballot of KBL forcing her to surrender a sample ballot of the KBL and doing unbecoming and unusual acts to said Lucresia Cabaltera. I also saw said Verginia Acenas watching the electors inside the booth while writting and even campaigning some voters for an opposition candidate for President.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto set my hand this 11th day of FEbruary 1986, in the municipality of Kinegitan, Province of Misamis Oriental.

LOURDES TAMBILING

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 11 day of February, 1986 at Kinoguitan, Mis. Or., Misamis Oriental.

ATTY. PAULINO G. PIOQUINTO
NOTARY P[illegible]

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
MUN. OF GITAGUM ) S.S.
PROVINCE OF MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

## AFFIDAVIT

I, DAMASO P. TUBELLEJA, of legal age, married, filipino citizen, with residence at Poblacion, Gitagum, Misamis Oriental, after having been duly sworn in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

That I am the Vice Mayor of my municipality and as such I received reports of NAMFREL violations in connection with the presidential election held last Friday, February 7, 1986, and among those verified to be true are the following:

That the NAMFREL workers assigned in the different precincts of the Municipality of Gitagum, Misamis Oriental, have been actively campaigning for voters who are identified for Cory Aquino and they were the one who look for their names in the LIST OF VOTERS Form 2A in order they could vote immediately;

That some NAMFREL workers assigned in some precincts are the one holding the LIST OF VOTERS Form 2A and when seeing that such voter is a KBL these NAMFREL workers pretend to be busy looking for voters name so that said voter shall wait;

That a certain NAMFREL WORKER snatched a ballot guide while the voter was inside the voting booth casting his vote;

That NAMFREL workers are campaigning for Cory Aquino inside the precinct by whispering and saying Cory Aquino ta, especially during the time the voters are waiting for their turn to receive the Official Ballot in order to cast their vote;

That the Parish Priest who is the over-all chairman of the NAMFREL in our Municipality is actively campaigning for Cory Aquino and even in his service jeep he put the propaganda of Cory Aquino;

That this affidavit has been executed to manifest the fact that the NAMFREL workers are not impartial in their job as such, and are in fact a campaigners of the opposition.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto set my hand this ____ day of FEbruary 1986, in the municipality of Gitagum, Province of Misamis Oriental.

ATTY. DAMASO P. TUBELLEJA

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 10th day of February, 1986 at Gitagum, Misamis Oriental.

[illegible]TIAGO B. VELASCO
MUNICIPAL MAYOR

(Exhibit G)

THE ELECTION REGISTRAR

____________________________

YOU ARE HEREBY DIRECTED TO INSTRUCT NAMFREL REPRESENTATIVES UNDER YOUR JURISDICTION TO TRANSMIT PRECINCT TALLY FORM AND COMELEC FORM NO. 13 THRU P T & T ONLY. COMELEC REPRESENTATIVES MUST ACCOMPANY DELIVERIES OF RESULTS TO P T & T FOR TRANSMISSION.

Transmitted
3:15 pm

CHAIRMAN SAVELLANO

Fr fr Chairman
2-2-86

NOTE:

PER ARRANGEMENT WITH PT&T, RCPI AND BUTEL THIS WILL ONLY BE TRANSMITTED TO 167 STATIONS OF PT&T. NAMFREL HAS BEEN DULY INFORMED ABOUT THIS ARRANGEMENT.

*ZCZC YC34660 TCR14799
*PUYY AN PUSV 000
*MANILA 071439

*FEB 7 1986

*TO : ALL ELECTION REGISTRAR
* COMELEC

*YOU ARE HEREBY DIRECTED TO INSTRUCT NAMFREL
*REPRESENTATIVE UNDER YOUR JURISDICTION TO TRANSMIT
*THE SAME TALLY FORM THRU PT&T ONLY. COMELEC
*REPRESENTATIVE MUST ACCOMPANY DELIVERY OF RESULT
*TO PP&T ONLY WITHIN YOUR TRANSMISSION PERIOD.

*CHAIRMAN VICTORINO SAVELLANO
*COMELEC

*NOTE: TO PTT STATIONS HEAD
* DELIVER ABOVE MESSAGE TO THE ELECTION REGISTRAR OF
* CITY/MUNICIPALITY WHERE WE ARE THE PRIMARY
* CARRIER AS LISTED IN ANNEX A OF OUR MANUAL.

*

*NNNN

*VIA PTT COMET

(NOTE BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: True copy of telegram provided by COMELEC. Text and spelling as shown on original. Original containing additional markings is on file with Committee.)

## GUIDELINES ON COMELEC NAMFREL PARALLEL TABULATION OF ADVANCE ELECTION RESULTS

WHEREAS, the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) has the constitutional mandate to see to it that the elections are held in a free, orderly, honest and credible manner, which necessarily includes the fast public dissemination of accurate election results;

WHEREAS, COMELEC, pursuant to its mandated duty, will tabulate the advance election results at the PICC;

WHEREAS, the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) has been accredited as COMELEC'S citizen arm to assist COMELEC in the attainment of its constitutionally mandated duties above-stated in order that the sovereign right of the Filipino people to choose their leaders freely and to be informed of the results of their choice;

WHEREAS, NAMFREL has offered to conduct also a separate but parallel and coordinated tabulation of the advance results at the La Salle Greenhills, San Juan, Metro Manila;

WHEREFORE, in view of the foregoing and in order to ensure the accuracy of the tabulation of advance results, COMELEC RESOLVES to authorize NAMFREL to conduct its own tabulation of advance results subject to the following terms and conditions:

1. COMELEC and NAMFREL shall conduct separate but parallel and coordinated tabulation of advance results;

COMELEC will tabulate the results at the PICC while NAMFREL will tabulate at the La Salle Greenhills.

The tabulation shall not be stopped and must be completed until the election returns of all precincts reported to the Comelec have been tabulated.

2. No transmission of the results from any precinct will be made except on the basis of a complete count of such precinct. indicating therein the votes of all candidates for President and Vice President

3. The transmission of results to the COMELEC and NAMFREL Tabulation Centers shall be done simultaneously and made through means that produce a "hard copy" for proper verification.

4. All posting, announcements, and releases of election results shall be done simultaneously at both Tabulation Centers. No trending or extrapolation of election results shall be authorized.

5. The gathering and delivery of all election results shall be continuously monitored at both Tabulation Centers by the representatives of COMELEC and NAMFREL who shall have the right to be present and take note of all deliveries/receipts of the results.

PROCEDURES FOR GATHERING AND TRANSMISSION OF NAMFREL ELECTION RESULTS:

I. In the National Capital Region -

a) Each office of the Election Registrar shall be constituted into a collection center for the 4th copies of the election returns from all election precincts for delivery to the PICC.

b) The authorized NAMFREL representative shall take delivery under proper receipt the 4th copy of the election return from the Board of Election Inspectors (BEI) and the NAMFREL Precinct Tally Form (PTF) in triplicate duly signed by all the members of the board. The NAMFREL representative shall also be given by the board of inspectors one copy of the Certificate of Votes Obtained by Candidates (COMELEC Form 13) in the precinct.

c) Upon delivery to the election registrar of the 4th copy of the election return and the PTF and Form 13, he shall note the time of receipt of the return and authenticate the PTF and Form 13 with his signature.

d) The Election Registrar shall then retain the 4th copy of the [illegible] election return of the corresponding precinct and pass the [illegible] two copies of [illegible] to the NAMFREL representative ~~for delivery~~ who shall deliver [illegible] PTF to PICC Tabulation Center [illegible] PTF and and Comelec Form 13 to La Salle (Greenhills). [illegible] and Com. Form 13

II. In areas near Manila from which election results are to be transmitted by courier -

a) The board of inspectors of the precincts from which the 4th copy of the election results will be delivered to the duly authorized representative of the NAMFREL for transmission by courier shall sign the PTF and issue one copy of the certificate of votes obtained by candidates (COMELEC Form 13) to said NAMFREL representative.

The procedure outlined under I & II is should in hereby adopted

~~The NAMFREL representative shall bring the 4th copy of the election returns, the PTF and Form 13 to the Election Registrar who shall note the time of the receipt, retain the 4th copy of the election returns and authenticate the PTF and Form 13, signing the same. The NAMFREL representative shall give PTF copy 1 and Form 13 to the local NAMFREL chapter chairman and deliver PTF copy 2 to the PICC Tabulation Center. The PTF copy 3 shall be delivered by the NAMFREL courier to the La Salle Greenhills Tabulation Center.~~ Whenever a [illegible] commercial carrier is available for [illegible] emergency to NAMFREL representative on [illegible] the election.

III. In areas where the advance election results will be transmitted by telegram/telex through RCPI, PT & T and similar facilities:

a) NAMFREL shall designate its representative at the precinct level to the Municipal Election Registrar and the BEI who is authorized to secure the fourth copy of the Election Returns (ER) and appropriate transmission forms which consist of the carbonless triplicate NAMFREL Precinct Tally (PTF Form), all duly signed by the Board of Election Inspectors (BEI). The forms will all be brought to the Election Registrar.

b) The Election Registrar shall then open the fourth copy of the advance ER and in the presence of the NAMFREL representative verify the data called for in the transmission form (PTF) and then sign all the aforesaid forms.

c) Upon verification that the data in the PTF are the same as the fourth copy of the election return, the Election Registrar shall sign the PTF, retain the fourth copy of the return and one copy of the PTF, and direct the NAMFREL representative to transmit the election returns through PT & T, RCPI or similar carrier to simultaneously transmit to the PICC and La Salle Greenhills Tabulation Center.

IV. A "hard copy" of the transmission form, duly acknowledged by the telegraphic station as received for transmission, shall be returned to the Election Registrar by the NAMFREL representative. If the Election Registrar notes any discrepancy between what has been sent to the PICC and NAMFREL Tabulation Centers and the fourth copy of the election return, he shall forthwith order the NAMFREL representative to, or, if he so chooses, personally make re-transmission of the correction(s) to the Tabulation Centers.

V. With respect to precincts from which the NAMFREL representatives do not have a duly signed triplicate copy of the PTF, the results to be transmitted by the carrier shall be a transmission copy of the election return as copied by the Election Registrar from the fourth copy of the return and as provided ~~for in~~ Par. IV above with regards to the "hard" copy and discrepancy, if any.

VI. In all cases, if there are differences or discrepancies between the fourth copy of the election result and the PTF form and, where applicable, Form 13, the Election Registrar shall so annotate them on the transmission form and, in the presence of the NAMFREL representative, copies the results from the fourth copy of the election results in a COMELEC telegraphic form in duplicate which he shall sign. The original of the telegraphic form shall be given to the NAMFREL representative for transmission and the duplicate copy shall be retained and kept by the NAMFREL representative. The procedure stated in Par. IV above shall also be followed as applicable.

VII. All Election Registrars and other personnel of COMELEC by virtue of their responsibilities in regard to the tabulation of advance election results, are directed to stay in their offices to ensure the prompt transmission of election results until all results are transmitted.

To ensure the successful implementation of the tabulation, COMELEC shall issue the appropriate instruction to its officials, registrars, board of election inspectors, and law enforcement agencies to assist and protect COMELEC and NAMFREL personnel in the performance of their duties in connection with the tabulation of advance election results.

IX. To allow a reasonable [illegible] number of representatives of COMELEC and NAMFREL to be present at each others tabulation centers, Greenhills & PICC to observe and or monitor operations. It is understood that such representatives of COMELEC and NAMFREL assigned to the other's Center must be civilian and must not be allowed to carry weapons of any kind and must not violate rules for safety, discipline and orderliness.

X. The COMELEC and NAMFREL shall jointly work out and approve the system and procedures for the tabulation of advance election results so that the posting, release or announcement of election data/results in both Tabulation Centers shall be done simultaneously.

XI. The COMELEC shall issue a resolution embodying or accepting all the terms, provisions and conditions in this guidelines and which supersedes and/or modifying provisions in Resolution No. 1763 date January 28, 1986 which are inconsistent with above guidelines.

(Exhibit H)

## STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN PROVIDED BY NAMFREL

### AREAS WHERE NAMFREL WAS DENIED PRESENCE OR INTIMIDATED FROM ORGANIZING

(initial listing - subject to further field verification)

| | NO. OF MUNICIPALITIES | | TOTAL PRECINCTS AFFECTED |
|---|---|---|---|
| | TOTAL DENIAL | PARTIAL *** DENIAL | |
| NATIONAL CAP. REGION | | | |
| Makati | | 1 | 383 |
| Muntinlupa | | 1 | 133 |
| Sub-total | | | 516 |
| REGION 1 | | | |
| Abra | 17 | 4 | 222 |
| Ilocos Norte | 4 | 2 | 197 |
| La Union | 6 | 1 | 215 |
| Pangasinan | 1 | 3 | 128 |
| Ilocos Sur | | 12 | 113 |
| Sub-total | 28 | 32 | 875 |
| REGION 2 | | | |
| Cagayan | 9 | 7 | 460 |
| Isabela | 30 | 7 | 1238 |
| Quirino | 6 | | 162 |
| Ifugao | 1 | | 13 |
| Kalinga-Apayao | 3 | | 72 |
| Nueva Vizcaya | 1 | 6 | 75 |
| Sub-total | 50 | 20 | 2020 |
| REGION 3 | | | |
| Tarlac | 5 | 2 | 296 |
| Nueva Ecija | | 14 | 183 |
| Pampanga | | 1 | 7 |
| Zambales | | 2 | 52 |
| Bulacan | 1 | | 7 |
| Sub-total | 6 | 19 | 545 |
| REGION 4 | | | |
| Quezon | 1 | | 23 |
| Aurora | | 1 | 4 |
| Cavite | 1 | 6 | 84 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rizal | | 4 | 45 |
| Laguna | 2 | 1 | 84 |
| Mindoro Or. | 1 | | 33 |
| Sub-total | 6 | 12 | 273 |
| REGION 5 | | | |
| Masbate | 2 | | 123 |
| Sub-total | 2 | | 123 |
| REGION 6 | | | |
| Antique | 10 | | 406 |
| Negros del Norte | 10 | 1 | 418 |
| Iloilo Prov. | | 6 | 40 |
| Negros Occ. | | 3 | 32 |
| Sub-total | 20 | 10 | 896 |
| REGION 7 | | | |
| Cebu Prov. | 5 | 4 | 390 |
| Cebu City | | | 98 |
| Negros Or. | | 1 | 24 |
| Sub-total | 5 | 5 | 512 |
| REGION 8 | | | |
| Southern Leyte | 1 | 1 | 52 |
| Leyte | 1 | 4 | 88 |
| Eastern Samar | 1 | | 12 |
| Northern Samar | | 1 | 14 |
| Sub-total | 3 | 6 | 166 |
| REGION 9 | | | |
| Basilan | 2 | 1 | 81 |
| Zamboanga Norte | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| Zamboanga Sur | 7 | 1 | 250 |
| Sub-total | 10 | 3 | 381 |
| REGION 10 | | | |
| Agusan del Sur | 4 | | 132 |
| Agusan Norte | 1 | 1 | 46 |
| Bukidnon | 5 | | 158 |
| Surigao Norte | 8 | 1 | 150 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cagayan de Oro | | 1 | 25 |
| Sub-total | 18 | 3 | 511 |
| REGION 11 | | | |
| Davao Sur | 1 | 2 | 64 |
| South Cotabato | | 1 | 17 |
| Davao Norte | 4 | | 186 |
| Surigao Sur | | 5 | 50 |
| Sub-total | 5 | 8 | 317 |
| REGION 12 | | | |
| North Cotabato | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| Lanao Norte | 3 | 7 | 210 |
| Lanao Sur | 22 | | 317 |
| **Sultan Kudarat** | 2 | | 30 |
| **Maguindanao** | 6 | | 476 |
| Sub-total | 32 | 8 | 1057 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 185 | 128 | 8192 |

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*** denial in at least 10 % of precincts in municipality

(Exhibit I)

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Office of the Provincial Election Supervisor
Negros del Norte, Cadiz City
-oOo-

February 6, 1986

TO : The Board of Election Inspectors
Victorias, Negros del Norte

FROM : Provincial Election Supervisor
Negros del Norte

SUBJECT : REVOCATION OF VICTORIAS NAMFREL ACCREDITATION.

Upon proper investigation, it was verified that NAMFREL representatives, Dr. Patricio Tan. Msgr. Antonio Fortich and Atty. Juan Hagad, who are the Provincial NAMFREL leaders in Negros del Norte have in fact been engaging in partisan political activities in favor of UNIDO candidates, thereby violating Comelec Resolution No. 85-2210 dated December 24, 1985.

Consequently, the NAMFREL representatives in the different cities and municipalities in Negros del Norte appointed by them can also be considered partisan.

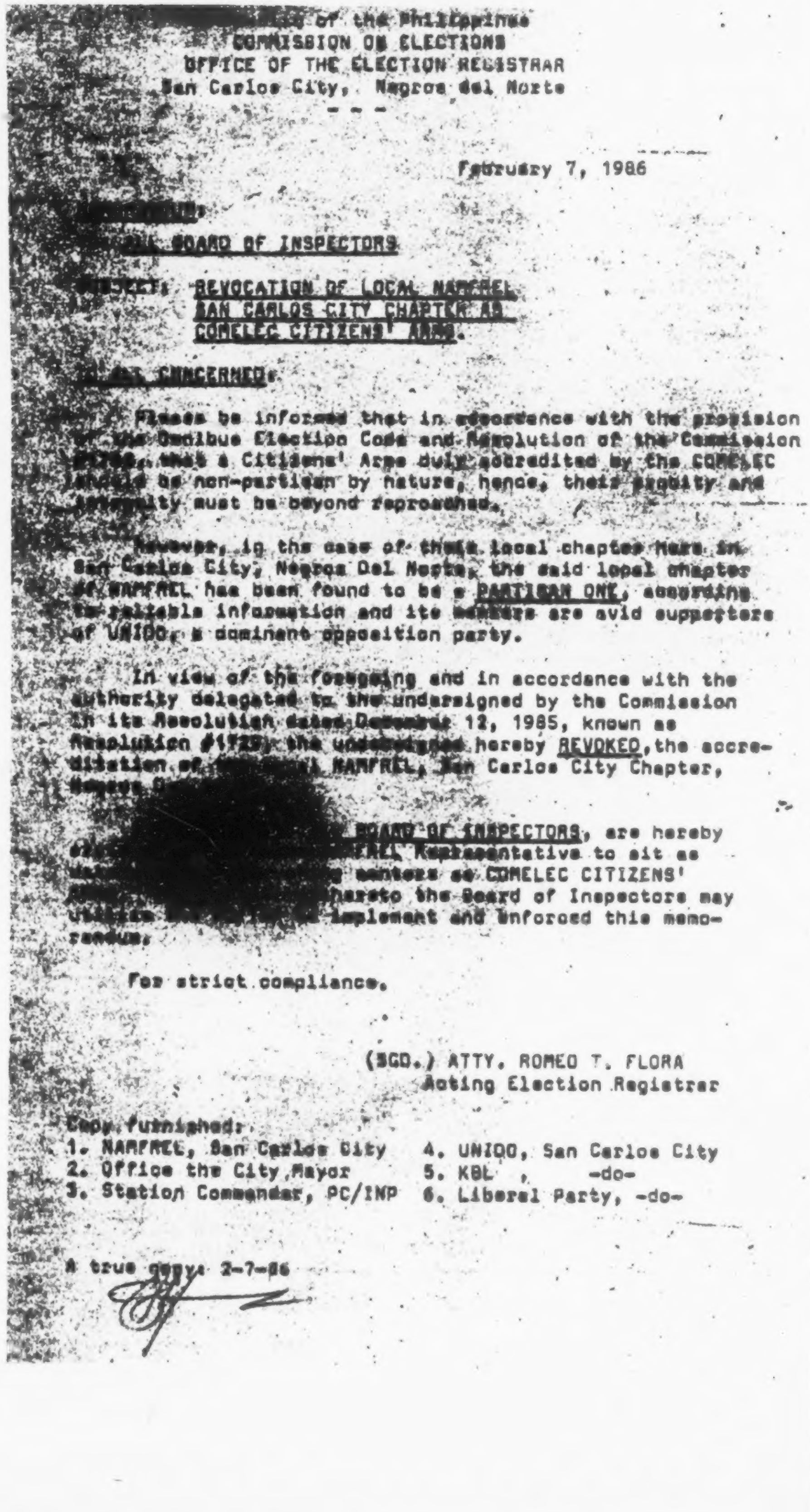
WHEREFORE, effective today, February 6, 1986, NAMFREL Victorias Chapter accreditation is hereby REVOKED.

ATTY. AGUSTIN S. DESUYO
Provincial Election Supervisor

received
2/6/86

Chief EC, Vict. Neg del Norte

J. CHICO elem. SCHOOL



[illegible] of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF THE ELECTION REGISTRAR
San Carlos City, Negros del Norte
- - -

February 7, 1986

MEMORANDUM:

ALL BOARD OF INSPECTORS

SUBJECT: REVOCATION OF LOCAL NAMFREL SAN CARLOS CITY CHAPTER AS COMELEC CITIZENS' ARMS.

TO ALL CONCERNED:

Please be informed that in accordance with the provision of the Omnibus Election Code and Resolution of the Commission #1729, that a Citizens' Arms duly accredited by the COMELEC should be non-partisan by nature, hence, their probity and integrity must be beyond reproached.

However, in the case of their local chapter here in San Carlos City, Negros Del Norte, the said local chapter of NAMFREL has been found to be a PARTISAN ONE, according to reliable information and its members are avid supporters of UNIDO, a dominant opposition party.

In view of the foregoing and in accordance with the authority delegated to the undersigned by the Commission in its Resolution dated December 12, 1985, known as Resolution #1729, the undersigned hereby REVOKED, the accreditation of [illegible] NAMFREL, San Carlos City Chapter, Negros D[illegible]

[illegible] BOARD OF INSPECTORS, are hereby [illegible] NAMFREL Representative to sit as [illegible] centers as COMELEC CITIZENS' [illegible] hereto the Board of Inspectors may utilize [illegible] implement and enforced this memorandum.

For strict compliance.

(SGD.) ATTY. ROMEO T. FLORA
Acting Election Registrar

Copy furnished:

1. NAMFREL, San Carlos City
2. Office the City Mayor
3. Station Commander, PC/INP
4. UNIDO, San Carlos City
5. KBL , -do-
6. Liberal Party, -do-

A true copy: 2-7-86

KILUSANG BAGONG LIPUNAN PARTY
PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS
ILAGAN, ISABELA

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

January 27, 1986

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS:

To: 1. All Municipal Mayors
As KBL Municipal Chairmen
Province of Isabela

2. All Kabataang Barangay Municipal Chairmen
Province of Isabela

3. All KBL Radio Commentators
Province of Isabela

4. All KBL Campaign Leaders (KADU),
Supporters/Sympathizers
Province of Isabela

5. All Concerned.

SUBJECT: NAMFREL'S DANGEROUS ADVENTURISM.

Our experience, and that of our people in the province shows that during the parliamentary elections of May 14, 1984, the alleged NAMFREL volunteers caused provincewide confusion and committed acts of intimidation and terrorism in the voting centers or polling places, thereby frustrating the free and orderly casting of votes thereat. This should not, and must not be tolerated in the forthcoming Presidential Election on February 7, 1986, because a second experience of the same nature and magnitude, will destroy the credibility of the electoral process. The accredited citizen arms of the Commission on Elections, one of which being NAMFREL, are only agents and/or representatives to assist the COMELEC in its work. As such agents or representatives, the alleged NAMFREL volunteers must ABSOLUTELY be non-partisan and impartial, otherwise, the purpose of their accreditation will be rendered nugatory.

Therefore, they can not be more powerful than their principal, the COMELEC. Hence, if such NAMFREL agents go beyond the bounds of law and General Instructions of the COMELEC, then they will perforce, expose themselves for possible criminal prosecution in court for election offenses, punishable under the provisions of Sections 261-264, of Batas Blg. 881, otherwise known as the OMNIBUS ELECTION CODE, in relation to Batas Pambansa Blg. 883, known as the "1986 Snap Presidential Election Law".

Consistent with the Constitutional mandate for a clean, free, orderly and honest elections in the forthcoming political exercise, the following specific mandatory instructions affecting the activities of the NAMFREL are hereby issued as a precautionary measure, to wit:

1. The NAMFREL provincial representative must be duly appointed and accredited by the Provincial Election Supervisor in accordance with instructions from COMELEC, Manila;

2. The duly accredited provincial representative shall nominate to the Municipal Local Election Registrars in the different municipalities of the province, the names with their addresses, of those persons to be appointed and accredited in the specific prescints they will be assigned.

3. Thereafter, the Municipal/Local Election Registrar concerned shall appoint and accredit the duly qualified NAMFREL representative, who shall be a qualified VOTER in the specific prescint he is to be appointed;

④ There shall be no appointment or accreditation of a NAMFREL representative to other prescints where he is not a qualified voter thereat,

FOR EXAMPLE: if JUAN DELA CRUZ, who is a registered voter in Prescint No. 1 of Calamagui, Ilagan, Isabela, is appointed and duly accredited as NAMFREL representative for Prescint No. 1 of the same town, then the same Juan dela Cruz can not be appointed and accredited as NAMFREL representative at the same time to Prescint No. 3 or Prescint No. 21 of the same municipality. Similarly, PEDRO SAN JUAN who is a resident, and a registered voter of Santiago, Isabela, can not be appointed and accredited as NAMFREL representative of Ilagan, Isabela. Never! Therefore, there shall be no general appointment and accreditation of ROVING NAMFREL representatives, although there shall be as many NAMFREL representatives appointed and accredited in as many number of prescints in the town. The rule shall be - one NAMFREL representative for only one prescint and the Board of Election Inspectors.

or Canvassers in the different voting centers or polling places in the towns can deny recognition of other NAMFREL representatives not duly appointed and accredited to the specific prescints they are assigned;

5. The sole appointing and accrediting authority in the prescint level, is the Local Election Registrar concerned. He issues the prepared corresponding COMELEC citizen arm Identification Card provided for the purpose. This power of appointment and accreditation includes the power to revoke upon notice, should such accredited NAMFREL representative by his actuations, manifested partiality to any political party or candidate and/or has performed acts in excess or in controvention of his functions and duties. (Art. V, Resolution No. 1729, Dec. 12, 1985);

6. Should there be an objection raised or filed, against the possible appointment and accreditation of a NAMFREL representative, for the reason that such person is not a registered voter in the prescint he will be assigned, and/or that such person nominated is known to be PARTISAN and the Local Election Registrar is convinced that he is so, after a hearing conducted, then the latter may refused to issue the appointment and accreditation. He may then accredit any representative from any of the reputable and non partisan civic organizations in the municipality or prescint where he is a registered voter, but must inform immediately COMELEC, Manila, of such action taken;

7. The decision of the Local Election Registrar is FINAL and appealable only direct to the Commission on Elections in Manila and not otherwise;

8. The genuine NAMFREL representative can watch and observe the proceedings of the Board of Election Inspectors and/or Board of Canvassers, but they should not actively participate in the deliberation of the Board;

9. All other non accredited NAMFREL representatives, should be barred from entering the rooms except to vote, where the voting is being done and during canvass thereof. They shall stay in an area at least 50 meters away from the polling place or voting center.

Simply stated, the qualifications and the functions, duties, responsibilities and liabilities of a "genuine NAMFREL representative" is similar to that of a duly appointed and accredited watcher of the KBL mojority party and "that of the UNIDO, the dominant opposition party, or other groups of candidates, as outlined in the General Instructions contained in Sections 9-12, Resolution No. 1749 for the Board of Election Inspectors and Section 9, of Resolution No. 1749 for the Board of Canvassers, respectively, promulgated by the Commission on Elections, January 10, 1986, and other related orders. Outside of these instructions, the acts of the NAMFREL representatives are considered ULTRA VIRES and the same ought never to be respected or recognized, without prejudice to his possible criminal prosecution.

All told; let the KBL machinery work as expected, because there is no substitute for VICTORY, even as there is no room for COMPLACENCY!

Immediate widest dissemination of these instructions is hereby enjoined.

SGD. FAUSTINO N. D
Governor
Provincial Chairman

Copy furnished:

1. The Provincial Election Supervisor
   Ilagan, Isabela.

2. The Chairman
   COMELEC, Manila

(Exhibit J)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
S.S.
City of Manila )

## AFFIDAVIT

I, PEDRO F. BARAOIDAN, married, of legal age,and residing at 31 Pines Street, Fairview, Quezon City, after having been sworn to in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

THAT, I have been deputized as the Project Manager of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project, pursuant to the Commission on Elections Resolution No. 1763, dated January 28, 1986;

THAT in accordance with such deputation, I effected the development of an Advance Election Return Tabulation System through the Project Management Office of the National Computer Center (NCC) pursuant to Section 2 of the aforementioned COMELEC resolution, authorizing me to enlist the component units of the NCC in my assigned mission;

THAT, in addition to the above action I recommended to the Commission the creation of a Board of consultants which would assist me in steering the Tabulation Project until its completion;

THAT, on February 7, 1986 the System designed and developed by the Project Management Office of NCC, after a review and approval by the Board of Consultants, was already in place and ready for implementation;

THAT, on the evening of February 9 at about 10:30 P.M., a group of about thirty (30) programmers and other technicians, primarily from the Tabulation Section of the COMELEC National Tabulation Project Organization, walked out of the plenary hall of PICC where the facilities were installed and were being operated, into the lobby where a group of journalists, newsmen, photographers and TV and broadcast media personnel were waiting; the media men herded/escorted the group into waiting vans and/or cars; the group was then transported to Baclaran Redemptorist Church where they held a press conference, wherein they stated that they walked out of the COMELEC tabulation due to certain discrepancies between the results in computer printouts in their possession and the entries on the tally board; they also stated that this constituted cheating, and did not want to have any part of it.

THAT, the seeming discrepancy that have been observed by the programmers and other personnel who had walked out could have been fully explained by me had they taken the time to consult me, instead of pre-judging and imputing certain motivations on my alleged action of pacing the plenary hall including my responding to frequent telephone calls on the plenary hall floor and in the backstage of the hall, and my alleged "unusual actuation" of having a calculator brought to the backstage; and that instead of condemning the undersigned for allegedly "unprofessional" conduct these programmers and technicians who walked out could have avoided violations of certain provisions of the Omnibous Election Code, while sparing the country, the Commission on Election and the National Computer Center, the institution where they regularly belong, of undue embarrassment.

THAT, the computer printout upon which the "walkout group" is basing their charge of cheating, is derived from the system which they themselves designed and developed, and which allowed only telexes of precinct level results, NAMFREL tally sheets on the precinct level, and advance election returns as the inputs to the system; telexes covering the same precinct are to be suspended together with the original result until further clarificaton and/or verification from either the election registrar or COMELEC. The system likewise did not allow for the inclusion in the final tally, of telexes which summarize the results for a group of precincts, if the votes could not be broken down by precincts. The action that was envisioned in this case was to suspend these summary telexes, until the breakdown is available from clarificatory telexes from the election registrar. This leads to a delay in the tallying of the results of groups of precincts which are reported in the summary forms with no breakdown by precincts.

THAT, in view of the above and when we noticed a number of results being submitted were large enough to affect the cumulative tally at any point in time, we requested the Chairman of the Commission on February 8, 1986 to allow us to proceed utilizing such summary results in order not to delay reporting of the results from any locality concerned, with the understanding that we would exercise care to ensure no double counting, by deducting the results that had already been reported which are included in the summary results,and that the breakdown by precinct be recorded as they become available.

With the authorization by the Commission, we then implemented a new system whereby available summary telexes would be incorporated in the final tally at the tabulation board. We decided not to inform the system people or the tabulation group about the system, inasmuch as incorporating the provision would need extensive revision and reprogramming of the existing system and would necessarily disrupt the existing operation. We merely added an intermediate step, that is, after fully accounting for the earlier precinct reports,we incorporated the summary telexes into the computer printout derived from the individual precincts inputs, prior to posting on the board. This was initially done manually but the process has now been computerized.

THAT, the above explanation shows that there is no inconsistency between the claim of the "walkout group" and the results on the tally board, particularly if we take note of the number of precincts included in each report; that there is no basis for the charges of cheating, manipulation or changing of votes for any of the candidates; and that the seeming difference between what the "walkout group" saw in the computer printouts is fully explained by the incorporation of summary reports in the final figures that were posted on the tally board.

THAT, after the walkout, the project personnel I assigned to inventory remaining resources indicated the absence of sytems and program diskettes, program listings, tabulation outputs, and some data diskettes with the information that some members of the "walk-out" group were seen carrying these materials.

THAT, I instructed other Project personnel to try taking over the tabulation function; however, these personnel were not able to do so, inasmuch as the people who had walked out had taken with them all the systems and program diskettes, including the passwords needed to enter and use the tabulating computer systems; the tabulation was at a stand still for at least twelve hours until we started our recovery operations to bring back the systems into the appropriate processing stream; although not fully operational,we started processing at about 5:00 P.M. February 10, 1986; we made our update of the tally board about 7:30 P.M. February 10, 1986, about twenty (20) hours after the walkout of the programmers and technicians.

THAT, the walkout of the thirty programmers and technicians was pre-planned and premeditated as evidenced by the unusual number of people in the gallery who had been systematically heckling the COMELEC Project personnel, the shouting of "CORY ! CORY !", "Walk-Out ! Walk-Out !" and the fact that the group stood up simultaneously after a signal from Ms. Linda Kapunan, exiting one after the other into waiting press and media men, who seemed to have been informed beforehand that a walk-out would be staged.

THAT, as a result of the above observation, I began to recall the unusual interest of the above group in being involved and assigned to the operations group; that inasmuch as they had been involved in the design and the development of the system, I initially looked at them as technical consultants only but they made representations to be directly involved through their immediate supervisor; that the Board of Consultants allowed this exception to the normal data processing practice in view of the time constraint being faced by the Project, not fully realizing that, in effect, we were relinguishing complete control to the group.

THAT, there were computer programming "bugs" or errors which we encountered during the early tabulations: one error hung up the system for about three hours, another error miscomputed the number of precincts, giving unreasonable figures on the tally board; the number of precincts figures had to be changed eventually, but this resulted in giving the impression that the Project personnel wre manipulating the figures;

THAT, the system also experienced delays in the processing: data diskette errors kept cropping up and there seemed to be bottle necks in the flow of work data from one section to another;

THAT, on the basis of the above observations and the final act of "walkout", I cannot entirely rule out the fact that the same group who had designed and developed the system had really wanted to slow down and/or paralyze the system from the very beginning, as they had done when they walked out, taking along with them all systems, programs, and data diskettes, passwords and source listings;

THAT, the above notwithstanding, I respectfully submit to the Commission on Elections the matter of taking the appropriate action on this case; I would merely point out that the COMELEC Tabulation Project has sufferred delays, and that its credibility has been put in question by the irresponsible and impulsive act of the thirty programmers and other technicians who walked out of the COMELEC Tabulation Project on February 9, 1986.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereby affix my hand this 15th day of February 1986.

Baraoidan
DR. PEDRO F. BARAOIDAN
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me on this 15 day of February, 1986 at Manila, Philippines, affiant exhibiting to me his Res. Cert. No. 5182281 E, issued on July 8, 1985 at Quezon City.

Administering Officer

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Manila

MEMORANDUM FOR : Commissioners Mario Ortiz, Quirino Marquinez and Ruben Agpalo

FROM : Attys. Francisco B. Sibayan, Cristeto Limbaco and Felipe Cahayon

SUBJECT : Initial Fact-Finding Report on the Walk-Out of Thirty (30) Computer Tabulators of the Comeloc Tabulation Center at the PICC.

In compliance with your instructions, the undersigned conducted a fact-finding investigation on the walk-out of thirty (30) computer tabulators of the Comelec Tabulation Center at the PICC which occurred on February 9, 1986. We respectfully render our report as follows:

I. PERSONS INTERVIEWED

The following personnel of the Tabulation Center, were interviewed:

1. Eliodoro R. Villanueva
   Operation Head
2. Renato P. Pagatpatan
   Head, Data Handling Group
3. Emmanuel Francisco
   Team Leader, Receiving
4. Yolanda Galang
   Transcriber
5. Eustaquio Mapagu, Jr.
   Team Leader, Telex Receiving Team

II. DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS

1. Affidavit executed by Eliodoro Villanueva, Operation Head, with Annexes "1" to "34";

2. Affidavit executed by Renato Pagatpatan, Head, Data Handling Team, with Annexes "1" to "33";

3. Affidavit executed by Emmanuel Francisco;

4. Affidavit executed by Yolanda Galang;

5. Affidavit executed by Eustaquio Mapagu, Jr.

6. Ninety-two (92) copies of survey form, indetified as Annexes "A" to "A-91".

## III. INITIAL FINDINGS

From the interviews of the above-named persons, the following observations can be deduced, to wit:

1. That there was no order from anyone to manipulate the results of the elections in favor of President Ferdinand E. Marcos or to cheat Mrs. Corazon Aquino of her votes;

2. That the walk-out of the thirty (30) technicians was a concerted action after some unruly persons and hecklers have disturbed the proceedings at the Tabulation Center, PICC.

3. That said walk-out was stage-managed and well-planned as shown by the fact that the thirty (30) technicians immediately rode on a passenger van and cars upon leaving the PICC premises, and proceeded to the Redempterist Church at Baclaran.

4. That several copies of AGGREGATED RETURNS from various places were not yet inputed to the tabulation machines at the time of walk-out. However, these AGGREGATED RETURNS were properly inputed by the remaining technicians on February 10, 1986.

5. That after thewalk-out, there was a bunch of telex messages from Regions I and II which were found in the receiving section, and which were not inputed into the processing machines.

This considerably affected the votes of President Marcos because he won heavily in the places where the said telex messages were transmitted. Further, several telex messages were not yet re-transmitted to the various places of origin for correction as they did not contain the number of votes garnered by President Marcos.

6. That the thirty (30) technicians were headed by an active supporter of Mrs. Cory Aquino, Rosalinda Kapunan.

7. That the answers to the survey forms (Annexes "A" to "A-91") distributed to the employees of the COMELEC Tabulation Center at PICC disclose that none of the (92) personnel therein was ever given any instruction to alter the results of the election.

## IV. RECOMMENDATION

In view of the foregoing, the undersigned most respectfully recommend as follows:

1. That the thirty (30) technicians namely:

    1. Santiago Pulido
    2. Rosalinda Kapunan
    3. Julieta Lapitan
    4. Ma. Thresa de Rivera
    5. Myrna Asuncion
    6. Ma. Aurora Asuncion
    7. Ernesto Alberto
    8. Teresita Roberto
    9. Marissa Legaspi
    10. Rubirosa Macato
    11. Marlo Lavin
    12. Ma. Corazon Lavin
    13. Irma Sunico
    14. Ma. Luisa Allarey
    15. Evangeline Saludares
    16. Ma. Regina Antonio
    17. Erlyn Barza
    18. Lucina Bautista
    19. Ma. Carmina Bergara
    20. Ma. Lea Castro
    21. Frederick Celestino
    22. Charles Chan

23. Ma. Leonor Cruz
24. Ma. Josefina Culiat
25. Dennis Estolas
26. Bella Flor
27. Macarrio Gutierrez
28. Celina Vinoya
29. Ma. Lourdes Vinoya
30. Florence Nitrogen Palomares

be summoned by the Commission to shed light on the incident relative to their walk-out from the PICC on February 9, 1986; and

2. That appropriate legal actions be taken against the thirty (30) technicians, if warranted by the evidence;

3. That an independent body of private auditors be hired to verify the existence of manipulation and/or cheating if any, in the tabulations of both the Comelec Tabulation Center at the PICC and the Namfrel at the La Salle Greenhills.

Manila, Philippines, February 13, 1986.

Respectfully Submitted:

FACT-FINDING SUB-COMMTTTEE

FRANCISCO B. SIBAYAN
Chairman

CRISANTO J. LIMBACO
Member

FELIPE GARAYON
Member

Note: Attached are the documents and papers mentioned in No. I, page 2 hereof.

# COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE WALK-OUT OF COMPUTER/TABULATORS AT THE PHILIPPINE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CENTER

## FACTS OF THE CASE

On or about 10:20 P.M. of February 9, 1986, thirty (30) persons employed as Computers/Programmers/Tabulators of the COMELEC Tabulation Center at PICC left their assigned places and marched out of the PICC. Their "walk-out" was preceded by shouts of "CORY, CORY", boos, "WALK-OUT, WALK-OUT" and catcalls against Marcos and general heckling from a portion of the audience at the gallery. They were applauded and cheered when they walked-out of the Center. At the main entrance of PICC, cars and vans appeared to be waiting for them and they were brought to the Redemptorist Church in Baclaran. Their leader and spokesman, Ms. Linda Kapunan answered questions by media representatives and afterwards they were offered and accommodated in a church hostel provided by a priest. The press later on reported that according to Mrs. Kapunan, she sensed something "fishy" when one of the programmers saw some discrepancies between the computer print out of election returns and the figures written on the tally board, showing a slight margin for the Marcos-Tolentino team over the Aquino-Laurel team, which has a slight edge before that. She hinted that there was manipulation of the COMELEC Tabulation.

## CREATION OF THE FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE

The above-incident, having been headlined in the newspapers, the Chairman of the Commission on Elections was prompted to create a Fact-Finding Committee, composed of Commissioner Mario D. Ortiz as Chairman and Commissioners Quirino A. Marquinez and Ruben Agpalo as Members. The Fact-Finding Committee then created a sub-committee to conduct an initial investigation and to gather data relative to the reported walk-out of employees at PICC tabulation center. Having performed the duties assigned to it, the sub-committe submitted its report and recommendations to the Fact-Finding Committee, copy of which is hereto attached as Annex "A", together with the annexes in support thereof.

## ANALYSIS

On the basis of the data submitted by the sub-committee, as well as the statement executed by Dr. Pedro F. Baraoidan, it has been clearly shown that no order was ever given to any of the personnel at the PICC

Tabulation Center to alter, amend, modify or delay the tabulation of the election results (see Annexes "A" to "A-91" of the sub-committee's report); that some unruly persons and hecklers have disturbed the proceedings at the Tabulation Center at PICC prior to the walk-out, which may have prompted them to stage the same; and that said walk-out appears to be well-planned as shown by the series of events subsequent to the walk-out. Furthermore, the press release of Linda Kapunan, serialized at the Philippine Daily Inquirer, discloses that her allegations relative to the walk-out are based on mere suspicions without solid pieces of evidence to stand on. Moreover, the fact that she refuses until now to heed the call of the COMELEC to shed light on the incident but rather chose to give her version to the alternative press gives rise to the presumption that her true motive and intention is really to discredit and embarass the COMELEC.

On the other hand, on the basis of the statement submitted by Dr. Baraoidan, he categorically denied that there was manipulation in the COMELEC advance tabulation at PICC. He explained that several summaries, or telexes of results with no precinct breakdown, were received by the center. The operating system did not allow for the inclusion in the final tally of telexes which summarize the results for a group of precincts if the votes could not be broken down by precincts. The action that was envisioned in this case was to suspend these summary telexes until the breakdown is available from the Election Registrars. Thus, it would lead to a considerable delay in the tallying of results based on summary telexes. Hence, as required by the exigencies as the summary telexes were large enough to affect the cumulative tally, Dr. Baraoidan requested the Chairman of the COMELEC on February 8, 1986 to allow him to proceed utilizing such summary results. With the authority thus given, Dr. Baraoidan then implemented a new system whereby available summary telexes would be incorporated in the final tally at the tabulation board with enough safety measures undertaken to prevent double counting. In the end, unnecessary delay would be prevented without sacrificing the veracity of the tally.

Regrettably, the adverse effects of the premeditated walk-out are immeasurable, not to mention the fact that, after an immediate inventory, systems and program diskettes, program listings, tabulation outputs and some data diskettes were found to be missing. Some members of the "walk-out" group were reported to have carted away with these items. The incident led to the paralyzation of the project for about twenty (20) hours inasmuch as the "walk-out" people had taken even the passwords needed to enter and use the tabulating computer systems. The recovery operations to bring back the systems into the appropriate processing stream needed at least twelve (12) hours to commence.

It is with great suspicion, therefore, that the computer programming "bugs" or errors which were encountered during the early tabulation could have been put in place by the same "walk-out" group as part of their grand malicious scheme not only to derail the project but also to give the wrong impression that the tabulation is being manipulated.

Furthermore, it is a matter of public knowledge, as repeatedly carried by press reports, that Mrs. Kapunana is the leader and Chief Instigator of the "walk-out" by 30 computer/programmers/tabulators in the evening of February 9, 1986. That the said walk-out appears to have no solid basis because her premise was based merely on assumption, to quote "that she sensed something fishy" which to our mind is more of a product of imagination than real.

Moreover, it is to be noted that there is sufficient basis for the suspicion that the walk-out was pre-planned and deliberate, because it was preceded by chants of "Cory, Cory" and "walk-out, walk-out" and other form of partisan heckling from a group of persons at the gallery of the PICC who also cheered Mrs. Kapunan and her companions when they walked-out, and because there appeared to be a ready fleet of cars and van waiting for them at the entrance of the PICC which took them to the Redemptorist Church at Baclaran where they held a press conference.

## RECOMMENDATION

Based on the data, so far gathered, this Committee finds that there is no credible proof whatsoever that a manipulation was made in the tabulation of results at the COMELEC Tabulation Center.

Considering, however, the national significance of the incident, and the probable im pact it would create viz-a-viz the February 7, 1986 Elections, it is our considered view and this Committee hereby submits that the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee be substantially adopted, to wit:

A. That the thirty (30) persons who walked-out be summoned by the Commission to shed light on the incident relative to their walk-out from the PICC on February 9, 1986.

B. That appropriate legal action be taken against them, if warranted by the evidence; and

C. That when so warranted, an independent body of private auditors be created to verify the existence of alleged manipulation at the PICC Tabulation Center.

Manila, February 15, 1986.

Respectfully submitted:

MARIO D. ORTIZ
Commissioner
(Chairman)

QUIRINO A. MARQUINEZ
Commissioner
(Member)

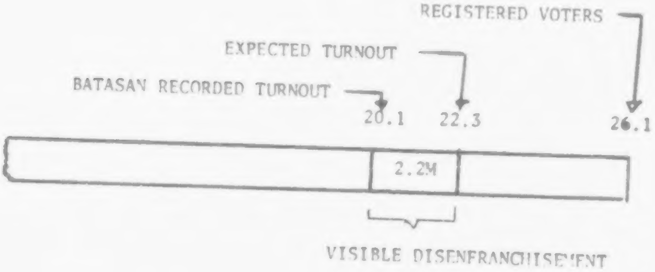
RUBEN AGPALO
Commissioner
(Member)

(Exhibit K)

2nd DRAFT

## ANALYSIS OF DISENFRANCHISEMENT

(A) VISIBLE DISENFRANCHISEMENT. The first type of disenfranchisement is arrived at by using the turnout rates for 1981 presidential elections (82.05%) and the 1984 Batasang Pambansa elections (89.13%). An average of voters' turnout for these preceeding national elections is 85.5%. With 26.1 million voters for 1986, the expected turnout should have been 22.3 million voters. Since the Batasan-recorded vote turnout was only 20.1 million, the visible disenfranchisement is about 2.2 million votes.



(B) HIDDEN DISENFRANCHISEMENT. The second type of disenfranchisement is more difficult to estimate because the negative effect is covered up by such vote-addition activities as court inclusion orders, flying/proxy voting, falsification of ballots, ballot box stuffing, inclusion of pre-prepared ballots during the casting and counting stages. As of February 12, 1986, NAMFREL had received a total of 124 reported incidents of this nature, many involving multiple precincts. Numerous reports of ballot box switching and tampering of election returns during the post-election phase has likewise negatively distorted the actual number of registered voters prevented from voting. This case can be illustrated by provinces which did not show a dramatic decrease nor increase in their voters' turnout rate despite rampant reports of disenfranchisement. Essentially what we are saying is that the Batasan-recorded turnout may in fact have been bloated by the fraudulent inclusion of votes and therefore, that the number who actually voted was less than the 20.1 million recorded turnout.

The table below gives rough regional estimates of disenfranchisements as contained in NAMFREL field reports:

| REGION | NUMBER* | PER CENT |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | | 15% |
| Region I | | 5% |
| Region II | 150,000 | 20-33% |
| Region III | | 6% |
| Region IV | | 15-30% |
| Region V | | 10-20% |
| Region VI | | 10-20% |
| Region VII | 60K-Cebu City<br>60K-Cebu province | 10-20% |
| Region VIII | | 9-30% |
| Region IX | | 10-14% |
| Region X | | 10-15% |
| Region XI | | 20-27% |
| Region XII | rampant in 4 out of 5 provinces in the region | |

While these estimates are admittedly tentative, fears expressed regarding mass disenfranchisement gain substantiation from the above figures. Ranging from a low of 5% of the total registered voters (Regions I and III) to a high of 30% (Region II), a discernible trend in other regions tend to cluster within a 10%-to-20% range.

A closer scrutiny of the qualitative data reveals that the extent of disenfranchisement is higher in provinces, cities or municipalities that are known to be opposition bailiwicks. For instance, reports of missing names were rampant all over the NCR and in Cebu City. In KBL-dominated regions like Regions I and VIII, only Baguio City and some parts of Pangasinan had reports of disenfranchisement. In Region VIII, complaints of this nature were recorded in Ormoc City and in Northern Samar. These places are considered as pockets of opposition within KBL stronghold areas.

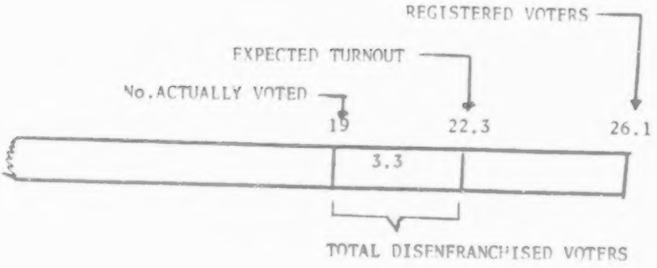
If we now adopt a moderate field-derived factor of 15% and multiply this by the expected turnout of 85.5% based on the average of the last two national elections (22.3 million), a figure of 3.3 million is derived, representing the estimate of total voters who were disenfranchised. This may not be an unreasonable figure of total disenfranchised voters considering that as of February 12, 1986, NAMFREL had received 391 eyewitness reports of field incidents that directly resulted in disenfranchised voters. A breakdown of these incidents is given below:

DISENFRANCHISEMENT

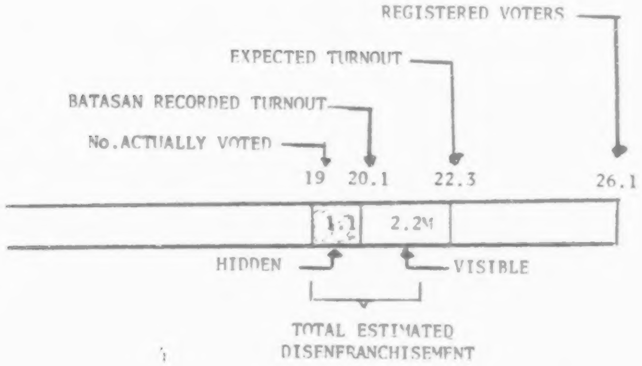
(Removal of voters: 3.3 million estimated)

| INCIDENT CLASSIFICATION | NO. OF INCIDENTS REPORTED (involving multiple precincts) |
|---|---|
| 1. INTIMIDATION/VIOLENCE (resulting in removal of voters) | 118 |
| 2. NAMES MISSING FROM VOTERS' LIST | 90 |
| 3. BALLOT BOX SNATCHING/FRAUDULENT COUNTING | 66 |
| 4. PRECINCT/NAME TRANSFERS | 46 |
| 5. EXCESSIVELY SLOW VOTING PROCESS | 18 |
| 6. MISSING (OR LATE ARRIVAL OF VOTERS' LIST) | 17 |
| 7. DESTRUCTION/LACK OF VOTING MATERIALS | 13 |
| 8. LATE OPENING OF PRECINCTS | 12 |
| 9. NON-INCLUSION IN VOTERS' LIST DUE TO LACK OF PHOTO | 6 |
| 10. ABSENT BEI | 3 |
| 11. EARLY CLOSURE | 2 |
|  | 391 |

If the 3.3 million estimated total disenfranchised voters were now subtracted from the expected turnout of 22.3 million voters, we derive a figure of 19.0 million voters who actually voted in the 1986 snap presidential elections.


REGISTERED VOTERS
EXPECTED TURNOUT
No.ACTUALLY VOTED
19
22.3
26.1
3.3
TOTAL DISENFRANCHISED VOTERS

If we now subtract the actual number of estimated voters (19.0 million) from the Batasan-reported turnout of 20.1 million, we derive a figure of 1.1 million which represents the probable total number of added votes previously referred to as the second type (hidden) disenfranchisement. Another way of arriving at this figure is through the superimposition of the above two bar illustrations, as shown below:


REGISTERED VOTERS
EXPECTED TURNOUT
BATASAN RECORDED TURNOUT
No.ACTUALLY VOTED
19
20.1
22.3
26.1
1.1
2.2M
HIDDEN
VISIBLE
TOTAL ESTIMATED DISENFRANCHISEMENT

The figure of 1.1 million additional votes is made more cogent when we consider the following breakdown of vote addition incidents reported to NAMFREL as of 12th February, 1986:

ADDITIONS OF VOTES

(Estimated Nationwide at 1.1 million)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Falsification of ballots/election returns | 52 |
| 2. Ghost Precincts (manufacture of election returns for non-existent precincts) | 28 |
| 3. Flying voters (use of multiple Voter's ID in order to vote more than once, sometimes done by truckloads) | 23 |
| 4. Proxy voters (others-usually local officials, soldiers vote for the voters) | 15 |
| 5. Court Inclusions (last minute court-ordered inclusions of new voters into Voter's list). | 5 |
| 6. Dead Voters (dead people are not excluded from Voter'slist) | 4 |
| TOTAL | 124 |

Thus, we estimate a total of 3.3 million voters who were disenfranchised, 1.1 million of which is hidden because of widespread fraudulent vote additions (hidden disenfranchisement) and the balance, 2.2 million, made apparent by computing the difference between expected and Batasan-recorded turnouts (visible disenfranchisement).

## (C) IMPLICATIONS

The above disenfranchisement figures reflect the two-pronged strategy employed by the ruling party during the 1986 Presidential elections: a "subtraction" strategy most probably executed prior to election day and involving massive and unprecedented disenfranchisement of 3.3 million voters; and the other, an "addition" strategy of 1.1 million fraudulent vote additions in favor of the incumbent. The impact of this "subtraction-addition" strategy resulted in a multiplication of advantages for the ruling party, a net margin of 1.5 million votes in favor of the encumbent, and the camouflaging of the real extent of disenfranchisement that in fact took place.

## POSSIBLE IMPACT OF DISENFRANCHISEMENT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (A) | Total No. of Registered Voters | = 26.2 | M |
| | x 85.5 expected turnout | x 85.5 | |
| | | 22.3 | M |
| | x field reports estimates of disenfranchisement | 15% | |
| (B) | DISENFRANCHISED VOTERS | 3.3 | M |
| | x 20% margin (assuming 60%-40% vote for Mrs. Aquino in opposition territories) | x 20% | |
| (C) | = Margin lost | 660,000 | |
| (D) | PLUS: Substituted votes for FM | 1,100,000 | |
| (E) | TOTAL MARGIN LOST by Mrs. Aquino through disenfranchisement | 1,760,000 | |

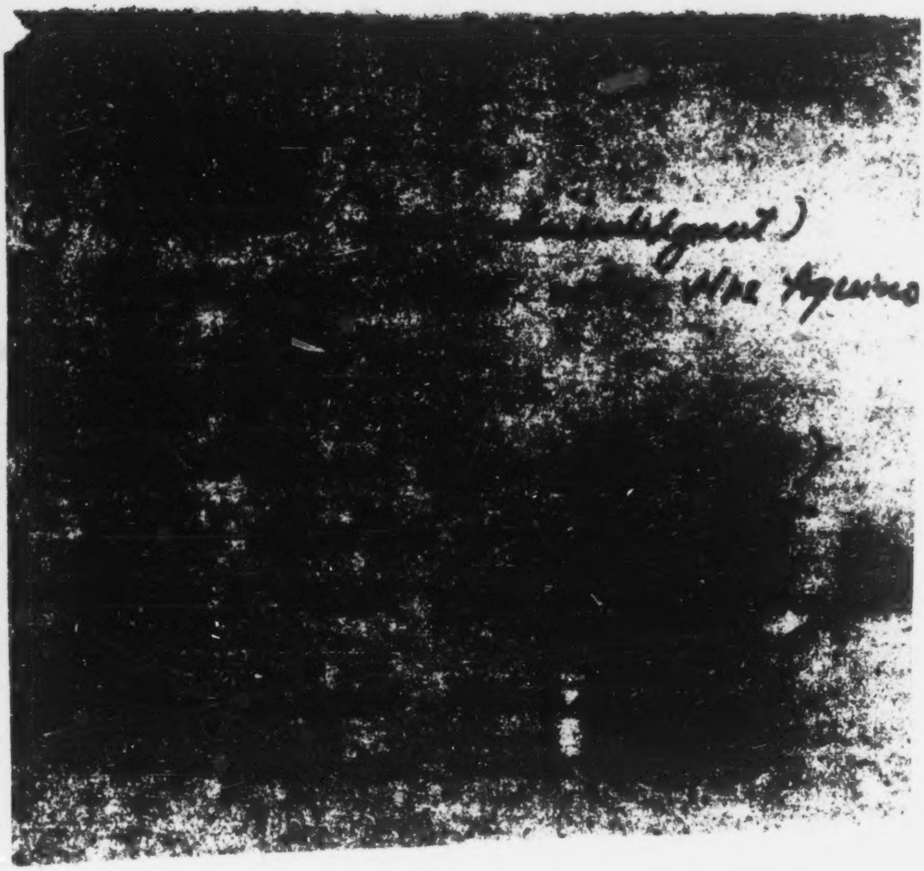
(Exhibit L)

## DATA ON THE NUMBER OF PROVINCES, CITIES, MUNICIPALITIES, MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS, PRECINCTS/VOTING CENTERS, REGISTERED VOTERS, VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTING 1946 to 198- ELECTIONS

| ELECTION YEAR | PROVINCES | CITIES | MUNICIPALITIES | MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS | PRECINCT/ VOTING CENTERS | REGISTERED VOTERS | VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED | % OF VOTING |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 23, 1946 (National Election) | 50 | 11 | 929 | 242 | 14,273 | 2,898,604 | 2,596,880 | 89.59% |
| March 11, 1947 (Plebiscite) | | | | | 14,441 | 3,096,413 | 1,971,155 | 63.66% |
| Nov. 11, 1947 (Local & Senatorial Elec.) | 50 | 14 | 952 | 222 | 16,589 | 4,320,671 | 3,265,022 | 75.57% |
| Nov. 8, 1949 (National Election) | 50 | 21 | 1,029 | 189 | 19,306 | 5,231,224 | 3,700,778 | 70.74% |
| Nov. 13, 1951 (Local & Senatorial Elec.) | 51 | 27 | 1,078 | 181 | 23,973 | 4,754,307 | 4,391,109 | 92.36% |
| Nov. 10, 1953 (National Election) | 52 | 28 | 1,101 | 165 | 27,966 | 5,603,231 | 4,326,706 | 77.22% |
| Nov. 8, 1955 (Local & Senatorial Elec.) | 52 | 28 | 1,127 | 167 | 29,325 | 6,487,061 | 5,046,488 | 77.79% |
| Nov. 12, 1957 (National Election) | 53 | 29 | 1,146 | 171 | 33,295 | 6,763,897 | 5,108,112 | 75.52% |
| Nov. 10, 1959 (Local & Senatorial Elec.) | 54 | 31 | 1,201 | 107 | 35,975 | 7,822,472 | 6,393,724 | 81.74% |
| Nov. 14, 1961 (National Election) | 56 | 37 | 1,238 | 104 | 40,509 | 8,483,568 | 6,738,805 | 79.43% |
| Nov. 12, 1963 (Local & Senatorial Elec.) | 56 | 40 | 1,326 | 50 | 43,389 | 9,691,621 | 7,712,019 | 79.57% |
| Nov. 9, 1965 (National Election) | 56 | 41 | 1,370 | 34 | 45,230 | 9,962,345 | 7,610,051 | 76.39% |
| Nov. 14, 1967 (Local & Senatorial Elections & Plebiscite on Const. Amendment) | 65 | 50 | 1,379 | 33 | 44,988 | 9,744,604 | 7,957,019 | 81.66% |
| Nov. 11, 1969 (National Election) | 66 | 57 | 1,403 | 14 | 59,975 | 10,300,898 | 8,202,793 | 79.63% |
| Nov. 10, 1970 (Elec. of Delegates to the Const. Convention) | 66 | 60 | 1,402 | 14 | 59,688 | 9,811,431 | 6,682,905 | 68.11% |

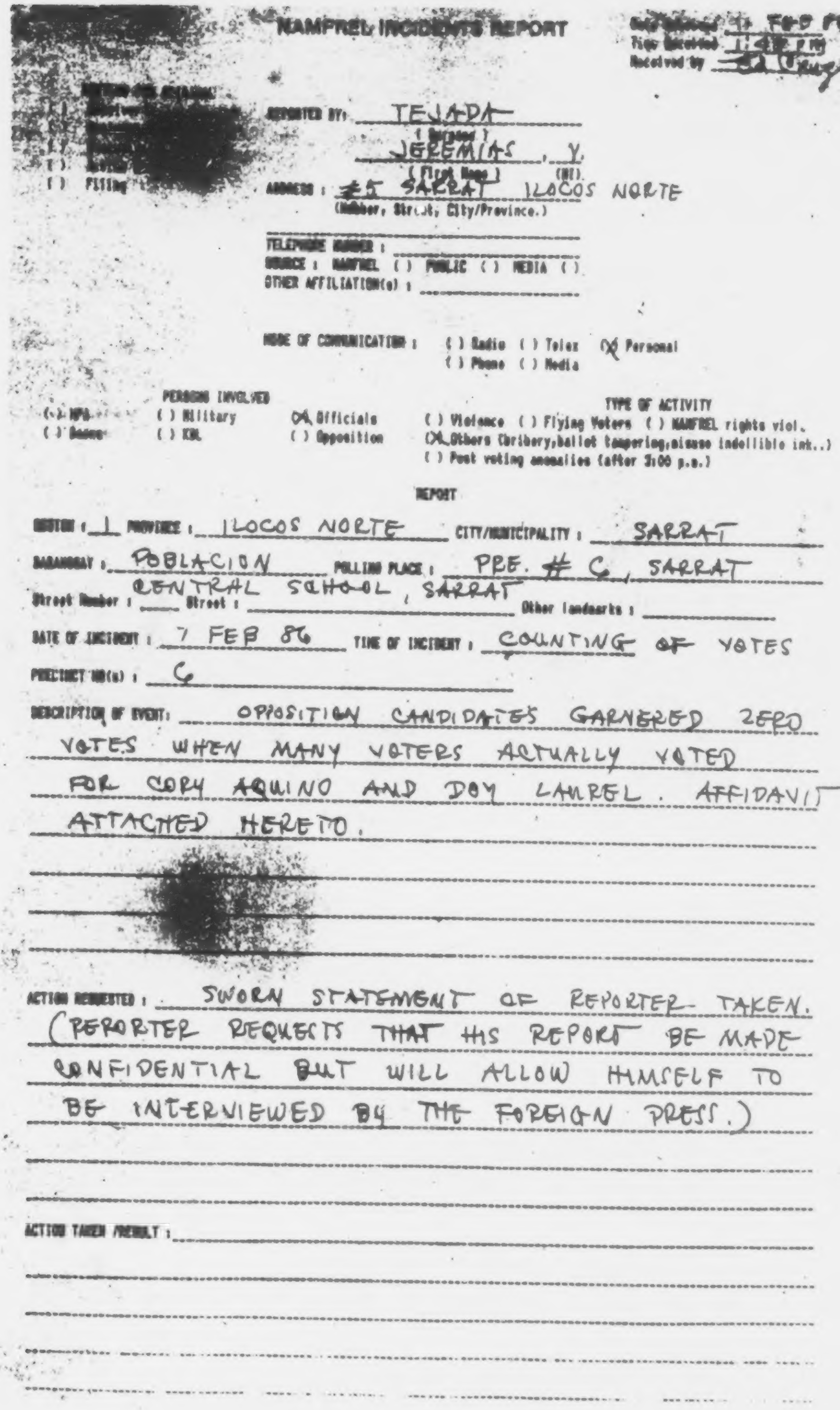
| ELECTION YEAR | PROVINCES | CITIES | MUNICIPALITIES | MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS | PRECINCT/ VOTING CENTERS | REGISTERED VOTERS | VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED | % OF VOTING |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov. 8, 1971 (Local & Senatorial Elec.) | 67 | 61 | 1,430 | 20 | 60,601 | 11,661,909 | 9,419,568 | 80.77% |
| July 27 & 28, 1973 (Referendum) | 72 | 61 | 1,439 | 20 | 54,053 | 22,883,632<br>(incl.15 yrs. & below 18 yrs.<br>2,739,706 | 19,908,760<br>incl. 15 yrs & below 18 yrs/ -<br>2,388,488 | 87.00% |
| Feb. 27 & 28, 1975 (Referendum) | 72 | 61 | 1,440 | 20 | 65,801 | 24,390,269<br>(incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs.<br>2,793,013) | 23,109,780<br>(incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs.<br>2,640,661) | 94.75% |
| Oct. 16 & 17, 1976 (Ref.-Plebiscite) | 72 | 60 | 1,449 | 20 | 66,786 | 26,167,635<br>(incl. 15 yrs. & below 18yrs.<br>3,041,213) | 23,740,107<br>(incl. 15 yrs & below 18 yrs.-)<br>2,665,007) | 90.72% |
| Dec. 17, 1977 (Referendum) | 72 | 60 | 1,459 | 20 | 77,604 | 23,272,088<br>(incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 yrs.<br>2,033,476) | 22,003,192<br>(incl. 15 yrs. & below 18 years.<br>1,809,744) | 94.55% |
| April 7, 1978 (Election if IBP Members) | 72 | 60 | 1,467 | 20 | 80,245 | 21,464,213 | 18,356,849 | 85.52% |
| May 7, 1979 (Election of Representatives to Sanggunieng Pampook Reg. lX & Xll) | 10 | 7 | 181 | 2 | 7,749 | 1,966,822 | 1,476,637 | 75.08% |
| January 30, 1980 (Local Election and Plebiscite) | 73 | 60 | 1,502 | 2 | 80,623 | 24,881,021 | 19,081,270 | 76.69% |
| April 7, 1981 (Plebiscite) | 73 | 60 | 1,510 | 2 | 80,933 | 25,611,145 | 17,700,124 | 69.11% |
| June 16, 1981 (Presidential Election and Referendum) | 73 | 60 | 1,512 | 2 | 81,192 | 26,986,451 | 21,843,829 | 80.94% |

| ELECTION YEAR | PROVINCES | CITIES | MUNICIPALITIES | MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS | PRECINCT/ VOTING CENTERS | REGISTERED VOTERS | VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED | % OF VOTING |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 17, 1982 (Barangay Election) | 73 | 60 | 1,512 | 2 | 83,284 | 29,087,988 | 19,298,910 | 66.34% |
| June 7, 1982 (Sangguniang Pampook Election-Regions IX and XII | 10 | 7 | 193 | 2 | 9,167 | 2,782,386 | 1,828,520 | 65.72% |
| January 27, 1984 (National Plebiscite) | 73 | 60 | 1,532 | - | 82,575 | 29,261,240 | 15,443,834 | 52.78% |
| May 14, 1984 (Batasang Pambansa Elec.) | 73 | 60<br>11(Urb. Cities<br>49 (Comp. Cities | 1,532 | - | 84,649 | 24,828,438 | 22,202,500 | 89.46 |
| 1986 Presidential Election, | | | | | | | | 76.8 7[illegible].8 |



[illegible] intelligent)

Mrs Aguirre



NAMPREL INCIDENTS REPORT

Date Received: 11 FEB 86
Time Received: 1:45 PM
Received by: [illegible]

[illegible]
( ) [illegible]
( ) [illegible]
( ) [illegible]
( ) [illegible]
( ) Filing [illegible]

REPORTED BY: TEJADA
(Surname)
JEREMIAS, Y.
(First Name) (MI)
ADDRESS: #5 SARRAT ILOCOS NORTE
(Number, Street, City/Province.)

TELEPHONE NUMBER:
SOURCE: NAMFREL ( ) PUBLIC ( ) MEDIA ( )
OTHER AFFILIATION(s):

MODE OF COMMUNICATION: ( ) Radio ( ) Telex ☒ Personal
( ) Phone ( ) Media

PERSONS INVOLVED
( ) NPA ( ) Military ☒ Officials
( ) Goons ( ) KBL ( ) Opposition

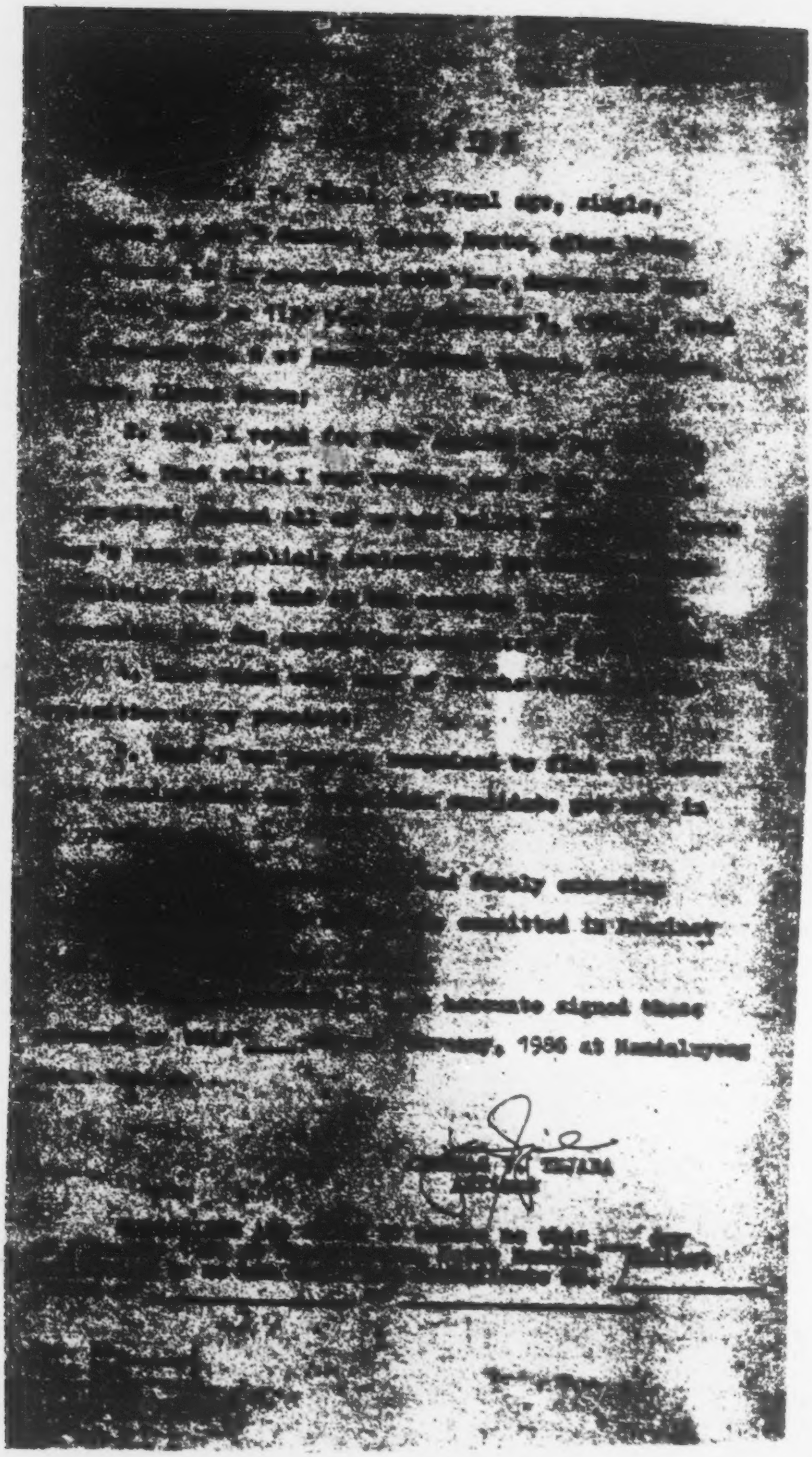
TYPE OF ACTIVITY
( ) Violence ( ) Flying Voters ( ) NAMFREL rights viol.
☒ Others (bribery, ballot tampering, misuse indellible ink..)
( ) Post voting anomalies (after 3:00 p.m.)

REPORT

REGION: 1 PROVINCE: ILOCOS NORTE CITY/MUNICIPALITY: SARRAT
BARANGAY: POBLACION POLLING PLACE: PRE. # 6, SARRAT CENTRAL SCHOOL, SARRAT
Street Number: ____ Street: ____ Other landmarks: ____
DATE OF INCIDENT: 7 FEB 86 TIME OF INCIDENT: COUNTING OF VOTES
PRECINCT NO(s): 6
DESCRIPTION OF EVENT: OPPOSITION CANDIDATES GARNERED ZERO VOTES WHEN MANY VOTERS ACTUALLY VOTED FOR CORY AQUINO AND DOY LAUREL. AFFIDAVIT ATTACHED HERETO.

ACTION REQUESTED: SWORN STATEMENT OF REPORTER TAKEN. (REPORTER REQUESTS THAT HIS REPORT BE MADE CONFIDENTIAL BUT WILL ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE INTERVIEWED BY THE FOREIGN PRESS.)

ACTION TAKEN /RESULT:



[illegible] of legal age, single, [illegible] Manila, after having [illegible] in accordance with law, depose and say: [illegible]

2. That I voted for [illegible]

3. That while I was [illegible] all of [illegible] publicly [illegible]

[illegible] my presence; [illegible]

5. That I was [illegible] surprised to find out [illegible] candidate got only in [illegible]

[illegible] and falsely counting [illegible] committed in Mandaluyong [illegible]

[illegible] hereunto signed these [illegible] this ___ [illegible] February, 1986 at Mandaluyong [illegible]

[illegible] TAYABA
Affiant

[illegible] to before me this ___ day [illegible]

Feb[redacted]

NAMFREL
MARIKINA HEADQUARTERS

## TRANSMITTAL LETTER

Please receive herewith the lists of those who were not allowed to vote and those who were not able to vote in Barangay Parang, Marikina, Metro-Manila because their names cannot be found in the lists of registered voters in their respective precincts. Most of them have their old voter's ID's, Voter's affidavits, New Voter's ID's and Letter Notices from Comelec. Despite the fact that petitions were made by several of those named in the attached lists and a court order was obtained by them allowing them to vote, still they w were not allowed to vote for the reason that it was already 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, disregarding Section 190 of Article 17 of the Omnibus Election Code and the ruling of Comelec Chairman Victorino A. Savellano.

The lists attached hereto will serve as evidence that the voters were disenfranchised last February 7, 1986 election.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

[illegible]
NAMFREL Chairman
Barangay Parang Chapter
Marikina, Metro-Manila

[illegible] REPORTS ON THE CONDUCT DURING [illegible]
February 7, 1986 [illegible]

[illegible] School, Gen. Lim St., Bangkal, Makati, MM
[illegible] No. of registered voters ................. 5,295.00
No. of Voting Centers ........................ 13
No. of Voters actually voted ............ 2,759
Percentage of voters actually voted..... 52%

[illegible] No. of voters where not able to vote.... 2,536 = 48%

[illegible] bldg. - No. of registered voters . ............. 2,947
No. of voting centers ...................... 8
No. of voters actually voted ............ 1,689 = 57%
No. of voters where not able to vote..... 1,258 = 43%

[illegible]:

[illegible] 7:00 a.m. a huges crowd came looking for their names in [illegible] list posted. They went from one voting center to another, [illegible] few only or 55% actually voted, 45% were not able to vote.

[illegible] tension of those voters, we got or list down their names [illegible] but the others we were not able to [illegible] just went home. [illegible] them to go to the Municipal Court and [illegible] for inclusion.

[illegible] whose name [illegible] unfortunately [illegible] voted for them already.

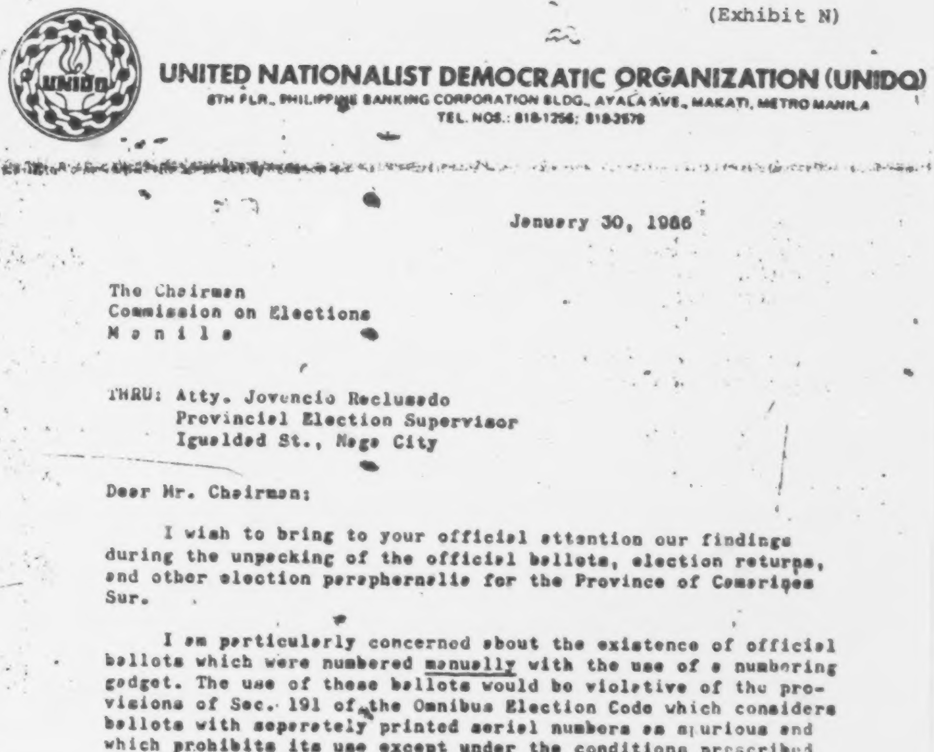
[illegible] some flying voters but [illegible] vote after [illegible] to the board their identification and [illegible] the oath. [illegible] voters just left after they were challenged [illegible] in our area [illegible] flying voters, our voting centers [illegible] flying voters [illegible] attempted to vote maybe because of our big sign board - [illegible] TO FLYING VOTERS: 1. Do not attempt to vote; Lawyers are roving around ready to challenge you; Your names are already watched by our poll watcher.

[illegible] incident when the Barangay Captain went inside the voting center to vote and after he asked the [illegible] chairman how many had already voted and our watcher volunteer challege him right away and the Captain was a bit angry and wanted to challenge back our volunteer so our volunteer called for reinforcement [illegible] Namfrel volunteer ~~xx~~ went inside to help and later on the [illegible] Captain left.

Another [illegible] the counting when the vote CORY was considered [illegible] a short ~~of~~ argument but after referring to the Omnibus [illegible] Election, it was settled right away.

So far as a whole there was no serious problems occured in our area.

Note:
Duplicate copies were submitted to
Area III Coordinator - Dick Cardenas -



(Exhibit N)

UNITED NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (UNIDO)
8TH FLR., PHILIPPINE BANKING CORPORATION BLDG., AYALA AVE., MAKATI, METRO MANILA
TEL. NOS.: 818-1256; 818-3578

January 30, 1986

The Chairman
Commission on Elections
Manila

THRU: Atty. Jovencio Reclusado
Provincial Election Supervisor
Igualdad St., Naga City

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I wish to bring to your official attention our findings during the unpacking of the official ballots, election returns, and other election paraphernalia for the Province of Camarines Sur.

I am particularly concerned about the existence of official ballots which were numbered manually with the use of a numbering gadget. The use of these ballots would be violative of the provisions of Sec. 191 of the Omnibus Election Code which considers ballots with separately printed serial numbers as spurious and which prohibits its use except under the conditions prescribed therein.

Furthermore, the discovery of unnumbered official ballots intensifies our apprehension of the possibility of election frauds through the use of these unnumbered ballots.

From the official ballots allocated for Camarines Sur alone about six thousand (6,000) were discovered to be manually numbered. Those should be destroyed and replaced immediately with official ballots properly and uniformly numbered.

Considering that official ballots with the said imperfection have already been circulated nationwide, the Commission should take immediate remedial steps to prevent the use of said defective ballots and the proper timely replenishment of the same.

I would appreciate being informed soonest about your decision on the matter.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

LUIS R. VILLAFUERTE
Executive-Vice President

# REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNPACKING OF OFFICIAL BALLOTS, ELECTION RETURNS AND BALLOT BOXES AT THE PROVINCIAL CAPITOL

## I. Packaging -

The Official ballots were packed in twenty-nine (29) boxes. Packing was not by municipality and one (1) box contained ballot boxes for more than one (1) municipality making retrieval by municipality very difficult.

Packaging was not by alphabetical sequence of municipalities and ballots for one (1) municipality were contained in boxes not numbered in numerical sequential order.

## II. Official Ballots -

1. Ballots are numbered consecutively from number 1 for each municipality. Numerous ballots were found to be numbered in letters and figures of a different type from those made by mechanical machine printing. Instead, they were numbered obviously with the use of a manual numbering gadget and the imprint of the serial numbers was not done in a uniform manner. It is clear from the appearance of these affected ballots that they were printed without serial numbers and the serial numbers were subsequently printed with the use of a manual number-printing machine. Whole pads of ballots were numbered in this manner. Attached is a summary of the numbers of the ballots for the corresponding municipalities which were manually numbered.

2. Comments: These manually numbered ballots should be considered as spurious and should not be utilized. Section 191 Subsection (c) in the second paragraph provides thus:

> "Ballots with separately printed serial numbers shall be deemed spurious and shall not be utilized by the board of election inspectors unless the Commission representative shall order their use in writing, stating the reason therefor".

3. Unnumbered official ballots - Unnumbered official ballots have been discovered in the booklets. This gives credence to persistent reports that official ballots are not being printed by only one authorized government printing press.

## III. Ballot Boxes -

1. There were Two Hundred Seventy Two (272) ballot boxes received by the Provincial Treasurer which are being allocated to the different municipalities in the province.

2. On the other hand, ballot boxes in the custody of Naga City and other municipalities in Camarines Sur have been remodelled

[illegible]

LLOT NOS.

3506
3508
3509
1710
1719
1720
1756
1758
1759
9401

14006
14008
14009
5256
5258
5259
13902
6930
6939
6940

12256
12258
12259
15756
15758
15759
7001
7006
70008
7009
7051

BALATAN

BALLOT NOS.

5001
2866
2867
4195
4487
4703
6033
6070
2759
4742

4760
2834
2612
6301 - 6387
6395
445
737
991
992
993

6943

BUHI

BALLOT NOS.

1300
6018
6019
6020
998
999
1000
8001-8100
8301-8400
8501-8600
8701 · 8800
8901-9000
8801-8900
8601-8700
8401-8500
8101-8200
8201-8300
7801-7900
7701-7800
7601-7700

23643
23650
23588
23589
23590
23591
23592
23593
23594
23595
23596
23597
23598
23599
23600
19611
9688
9689
9690
9691
9692

9693
9694
9695
9696
9697
9698
9699
9700
9701-9800
9801-9900
24631
9901-10,000
11038
11039
11040

BULA

BALLOT NOS.

108
118
17118
17128
2008
1006
1007
1008
1009
1010
1011
1012
2103
17273
2189
213
2853
2854
2855

240
2897
2898
2899
2900
298
2902
2911
299
2918
2919
2920
1248
1249
1250
1278
2921
2922
2977

PILI

BALLOT NOS.

1155
1196
5401-5500
5501-5600
5601-5700
5796
5934
5935
1328
1335
1546
19555
19556
7876
10140
6201-6900
11220
11696
11680
11348
11751
11790
11806
11838
11878
11925
19732
19734
19735
10529
10532
10534
10535
10536

9944
13644
13647
13648
13649
10744
8234
8444
8982
8983
8096
8097
8098
8099
13520
13046
10355
18001-18100
18201-18400
18101-18200
18564
16901-17000
21042
21109
21855
17001-17100
17701-18000
17646
14051
14090
14106

14138
14301
14225
19956
13520
13046
13646
13649
[illegible]001
22101-22300
22901-23000

TIGAON

BALLOT NO.

5870
9520

SIPUCOT

BALLOT NO.

17780

SIRUMA

BALLOT NO.

9

SAN FERNANDO

BALLOT NOS.

9001-9019
9040-9089
3251
332
824
7001-7019
7030-7089
6988-7000
4409
7801
4324
1901-1957
1823
1825
1890

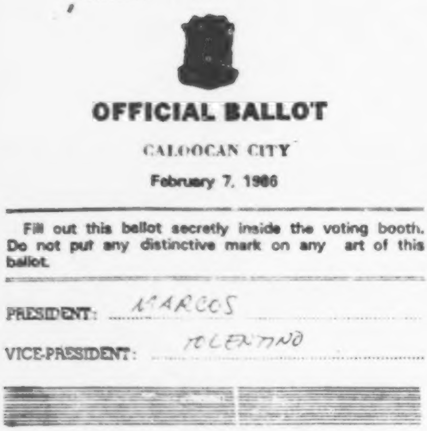
TINAMBAC

BALLOT NOS.

10573
1773
12333
7052
17000
5093
15853

FAKE BALLOT with WATERMARK!

Fake because name of municipality is "Pasig" only; whereas, official ballots bear "Pasig, Metro Manila";
Seal is blurred; whereas seal on official ballots are clear.



**OFFICIAL BALLOT**

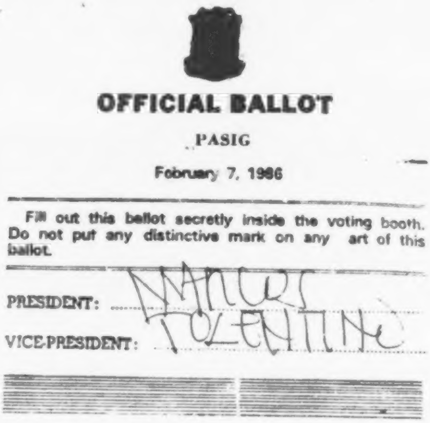
CALOOCAN CITY

February 7, 1986

Fill out this ballot secretly inside the voting booth. Do not put any distinctive mark on any art of this ballot.

PRESIDENT: MARCOS

VICE-PRESIDENT: TOLENTINO



**OFFICIAL BALLOT**

PASIG

February 7, 1986

Fill out this ballot secretly inside the voting booth. Do not put any distinctive mark on any art of this ballot.

PRESIDENT: MARCOS

VICE-PRESIDENT: TOLENTINO

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PASIG, METRO MANILA.........) S.S.

## SWORN STATEMENT

I, LOLITA NOBLE Y ~~ABRIGO~~ FARAON, 50 years of age, Filipino, married and residing at 44 Topaz St., Doña Juana Subdivision, Barangay Rosario, Pasig, Metro Manila, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, hereby depose and say:

1. That I am a member of the National Citizens Movement for Free Election (NAMFREL), Pasig Chapter and as such has been appointed School Chairman for Barangay Rosario during the 1986 Snap Presidential Election;

2. That on February 7, 1986, on or about 12:00 noon to 1:00 P.M., I was at the vicinity of Rosario Elementary School, a duly designated polling place under my area of work as a NAMFREL volunteer. That the said polling place has a total of fifty-nine precincts, one of which is Precinct No. 319. That at the said date and time, in front of Precinct No. 319, I observed a suspicious looking man of about 30 years old who had been there peering into the precinct for about five minutes. That I approached the man whom I saw was holding a bunch of white pieces of papers and I inquired as to what he was doing in that precinct. That the man must have recognized me as a NAMFREL volunteer as I was then wearing my NAMFREL T-Shirt and Identification card. That I noticed that he got scared and was about to leave. It was then that I grab the papers from his hand. That the man darted away and out of the polling place. I called for the other NAMFREL volunteers and we looked for him but he was nowhere to be found. That I examined the papers I got from the man and it was Exhibits 1-10, inclusive, attached to this statement. That Exhibits 1 to 10 were found in the same condition that they are now at present with the names of candidates already written thereon.

3. That I am making this statement voluntarily to attest to the truth of the facts herein contained for whatever legal purposes it may serve.

LOLITA NOBLE ~~ABRIGO~~ FARAON
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me this 15th day of February, 1986 at Pasig, Metro Manila. Affiant exhibited to me her residence certificate No. [illegible] issued at Pasig, Metro Manila, on [illegible] 198[illegible].

AMBROSIO B. CONCEPCION, JR.
Notary Public
Until December 31. 1986

Doc. No. 1783; Page No. 58;
Book No. IV; Series of 1986.

(Exhibit O)

Republican
National
Committee

**E. Mark Braden**
Chief Counsel

**Michael A. Hess**
**Randall Davis**
Deputy Chief Counsels

February 13, 1986

TO: Professor Allen Weinstein

FROM: Mark Braden MB

SUBJ: THE PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

I want very briefly to outline to you the observations of the NRIIA/NDI team of which I was a member. The team consisted of Elaine Shocas, Counsel to the Democratic National Committee; Al Graham, Canadian senator; John Loulis, a prominent Greek political scientist and writer; and myself. The team broke up into two groups on election day and visited approximately 35 polling stations, both urban and rural, including some very remote barangays. There is a consensus among all members of the team as to our observations and the analysis which can be drawn therefrom. We felt that we reached sufficient polling locations to provide a representative sampling in the Misamis Occidental region of Mindanao. The election was not, in our observation, fair or free and was not credible to the vast majority of Filippinos with whom we spoke. We personally observed the following activities:

1. Massive organized vote buying. Prices for votes ranged from 25 to 200 pesos. It was not a sporadic activity, but carefully organized throughout all areas which we visited. The primary method used was to make an initial payment to the voter the night before the election providing them

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center: 310 First Street Southeast Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 863-8638 Telex 701144

with half the fee for the vote and a device to ensure that a vote bought did, in fact, stay bought. The device consisted of two parts, one part a carbonized NCR paper, and the second piece appeared similar to an official ballot with the names of Marcos and Torrentino printed on it. The voter would take this with him into the polling place, put the ballot on top of it, trace Marcos-Torrentino on the ballot and then return the carbonized sheet in return for the remainder of the payment. We observed this practice at virtually all of the locations we visited. The device used was not, and could not have been manufactured on Mindanao. There seems to be some doubt whether or not it could be produced anywhere in the Philippines.

2. Ghost precincts. Senator Graham and I visited a remote barangay which was deserted. The school in which voting was to take place had been peppered with automatic weapons fire. Although no one was there, the vote came in from that voting station.

3. In another very remote barangay filled with armed individuals, people were signing the poll book, but no ballots were being cast. It appeared to us that the process in this particular location was totally bogus.

4. We took photographs in polling places of money being paid for votes cast. A young 18-year old NAMFREL volunteer also took a photograph of

this activity only to have the camera snatched from her hands and the film exposed by a local barangay captain. In a number of locations, the NAMFREL volunteers were visibly frightened to be seen speaking with us.

5. While talking to opposition leaders outside one polling place, military men rode by in open trucks, armed to the teeth, and wearing Marcos T-shirts. There was no mistaking their message.

6. Elaine and John talked at length with most of the residents of a rural barangay where, the day before the election, the village had been surrounded by armed men, all the inhabitants taken to the central square, and then instructed that if the town did not vote for Marcos, it would be burned to the ground.

7. We went continuously to the regional and provincial Comelec headquarters following the election to witness the canvassing of the results, except that there was no canvassing of results. Everytime we arrived, no matter what hour of the morning, afternoon, or night, they were on recess or on a break. There simply was no official Comelec tabulation of results done in our area even though Philippine law clearly required it.

8. NAMFREL volunteers were thrown out of many polling places by KBL officials.

9. M-16s with Marcos bumper stickers attached. Enough said.

Clearly, I could go on and on giving you numerous credible second-hand accounts of fraud of which we were aware; but, since time is limited, this brief memo can give you an indication of what we directly experienced.

EMB:jd

## ASSESSMENT OF SNAP ELECTIONS IN PANGASINAN

### VOTE-BUYING: THE BIG DIFFERENCE IN PANGASINAN

The Feb. 7 snap elections in Pangasinan was marred by vote-buying, intimidation, terrorism and harrassment except Western Pangasinan.

On the eve of elections, dole outs in forms of money and food were rampant in the major areas where KBL bigwings reside or control. In some areas, Namfrel volunteers were refused to operate in the precincts. Many voters' names were missing as it was in all precincts in the country. The exclusion of voters' names frustrated many voters for not casting their ballots. Prior to election day, Comelec passes of Namfrel were delayed due to the refusal of local Comelec registrars to sign the permits. What was massive during the election day was the deployment of local officials especially in the barangay areas.

Capping all the related incidents and violations during the elections here are the following:

In Sto. Tomas town, Namfrel and Unido watchers were not allowed to operate in the polling areas.inspite of the deployment of two nuns. It was reported prior to the election that in Sto. Tomas, the mayor had an Operation Zero for Aquino. Apparent threats and intimidation were hurled at people. According to one nun ' there was no election in Sto. Tomas ' as many people were complaining to find their votes not counted by the Comelec in the town.

In Mangaldan where Aquino won over the incumbent, Namfrel volunteers were intruded and terrorized by a group of armed men allegedly led by a certain Mr. Dee. The goons were seen to be carrying M-grams. According to reports, Mr. Dee is a big contractor and a KBL supporter. The Mangaldan Namfrel released its final counts before midnight which made the group angry where Aquino won by more than 5,000 votes, the biggest winning margin for Aquino in the entire Pangasinan. Ruben Abalos, local Namfrel chairman, was being tracked down by the same group the day after the election. He had to seek security in Dagugan City.

In Bayambang, the Namfrel Mobile Team visited the local Comelec registrar to ask for a security to visit a barrio where a terrorist was disturbing the voters. The Comelec registrar was seen drinking white castle whisky along with the town's fiscal in his office. No security was given due to the refusal of the Comelec registrar to issue the permit. The Namfrel Mobile Team proceeded to the Vica Sur without the needed security. In Vica Sur, the election was held in a barangay hall and not in a school. After some snap shots were taken, a man shouted at the Namfrel team and asked them to leave immediately the place. After some tensions, everything was settled.

In Rosales, the town mayor and the policemen were seen visiting polling places until Namfrel Mobile Unit called their attention. But reinforcement from the military had to be secured from the provincial headquarters. At night, the mayor went to Fr. Primo Garcia, the parish priest. The mayor reportedly broke the glasstop and the flower vase and lashed out words on the priest. The mayor was reportedly under the influence of liquor.

In Urdaneta, the Namfrel chapter disclosed that half of the total volunteers backed out when they saw 'good-looking' men roaming around the barangays.

In Dagupan City, the Namfrel volunteers in Bonuan were not allowed to enter the polling places not until 11 am allegedly by City Mayor Cipriano Manaois. According to reports, the mayor purportedly prevented the Namfrel people to the polling places until the said time. The son of Namfrel official Macarthur Samson was dragged out when he attempted to enter the polling place. Likewise in San Carlos City, a Namfrel volunteer was physically mauled.

Generally the overall results of the elections in Pangasinan was greatly affected by massive vote buying. The town of Malasiqui where it was expected to be the opposition bailiwick produced a big lead for the incumbent due to the reported dole-out money given to the town mayor. The results could have been different if not for vote-buying.

The greatest consolation for Namfrel in Pangasinan was the full cooperation rendered by Philippine Constabulary- Integrated National Police command in Pangasinan where it rendered assistance in tight situations.

Generally, the election in Pangasinan could be summed up with the words of Ambasador Shahani " In Asingan there is no place for principles since the people could be bought during elections". In Asingan it happened, so the rest goes in Pangasinan.

### OPERATION QUICK COUNT
Association of Computer Enthusiasts for NAMFREL

### PROVINCE OF PANGASINAN

| TOWN/CITY | NO. OF PRECINTS | % | precinct tallied | % | AQUINO | MARCOS | KALAW | LAUREL | TOLENTINO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGNO | 30 | % | 30 | % | 2,315 | 5,586 | 276 | 2,170 | 5,282 |
| AGUILAR | 39 | % | 39 | % | 4,997 | 3,824 | 1,032 | 4,453 | 3,714 |
| ALAMINOS | 82 | % | 82 | % | 7,878 | 13,316 | 1,994 | 6,360 | 12,176 |
| ANDA | 32 | % | 32 | % | 4,008 | 5,594 | 624 | 2,801 | 5,062 |
| BANI | 49 | % | 49 | % | 4,356 | 8,721 | 479 | 4,252 | 8,373 |
| BOLINAO | 56 | % | 55 | % | 6,008 | 9,388 | 851 | 6,206 | 8,226 |
| BUGALLON | 53 | % | 53 | % | 5,951 | 4,358 | 1,290 | 4,529 | 3,845 |
| BURGOS | 21 | % | 21 | % | 2,045 | 3,527 | 316 | 1,804 | 2,415 |
| DASOL | 26 | % | 26 | % | 3,330 | 3,111 | 249 | 2,090 | 2,055 |
| INFANTA | 24 | % | 24 | % | 2,120 | 3,479 | 102 | 2,207 | 3,250 |
| LABRADOR | 18 | % | 18 | % | 2,870 | 2,365 | 1,138 | 1,998 | 2,045 |
| LINGAYEN | 120 | % | 120 | % | 13,253 | 12,491 | 5,373 | 11,162 | 8,999 |
| MABINI | 26 | % | 26 | % | 2,642 | 2,928 | 264 | 2,476 | 2,621 |
| SUAL | 25 | % | 25 | % | 2,586 | 3,750 | 1,267 | 2,062 | 2,972 |
| BASISTA | 27 | % | 27 | % | 3,265 | 4,121 | 765 | 2,724 | 7,395 |
| BINMALEY | 72 | % | 72 | % | 10,770 | 8,963 | 5,145 | 7,286 | 7,267 |
| MANGATAREM | 88 | % | 76 | % | 5,220 | 10,164 | 618 | 4,963 | 9,806 |
| URBIZTONDO | 43 | % | 43 | % | 5,286 | 5,329 | 838 | 5,068 | 4,620 |
| BAGUPAN CITY | 230 | % | 230 | % | 23,841 | 22,014 | 10,434 | 16,581 | 18,689 |
| SAN CARLOS C | 151 | % | 151 | % | 19,460 | 19,481 | 7,202 | 15,410 | 16,157 |
| BAYAMBANG | 100 | % | 100 | % | 10,902 | 15,934 | 2,868 | 10,098 | 13,763 |
| CALASIAO | 76 | % | 76 | % | 12,063 | 10,823 | 9,915 | 5,593 | 7,387 |
| MALASIQUI | 130 | % | 130 | % | 12,945 | 18,142 | 6,184 | 10,642 | 14,108 |
| MANGALDAN | 91 | % | 91 | % | 14,640 | 9,060 | 4,560 | 10,278 | 7,927 |
| MAPANDAN | 29 | % | 29 | % | 4,871 | 4,317 | 2,612 | 3,067 | 3,497 |
| SAN FABIAN | 60 | % | 60 | % | 6,625 | 10,272 | 1,715 | 5,581 | 9,656 |
| SAN JACINTO | 49 | % | 49 | % | 5,157 | 4,245 | 941 | 4,855 | 3,611 |
| STA. BARBARA | 57 | % | 57 | % | 8,243 | 9,391 | 5,597 | 5,255 | 6,781 |
| ALCALA | 45 | % | 45 | % | 2,909 | 8,980 | 364 | 2,662 | 8,810 |
| BAUTISTA | 27 | % | 27 | % | 1,880 | 5,743 | 343 | 1,759 | 5,558 |
| BINALONAN | 53 | % | 53 | % | 4,710 | 12,019 | 1,020 | 4,453 | 11,207 |
| LAOAC | 30 | % | 30 | % | 1,906 | 6,907 | 168 | 1,790 | 6,796 |
| MANAOAG | 55 | % | 55 | % | 6,985 | 8,898 | 1,485 | 6,266 | 7,393 |
| POZORRUBIO | 61 | % | 61 | % | 6,500 | 12,014 | 796 | 6,317 | 11,297 |
| SISON | 38 | % | 38 | % | 2,135 | 10,312 | 172 | 2,468 | 9,712 |
| STO. TOMAS | 15 | % | 15 | % | 0 | 4,631 | 9 | 9 | 4,612 |
| URDANETA | 147 | % | 147 | % | 7,697 | 26,014 | 1,228 | 9,213 | 24,210 |
| VILLASIS | 64 | % | 62 | % | 2,825 | 12,221 | 427 | 2,911 | 11,842 |
| ASINGAN | 79 | % | 79 | % | 5,977 | 11,626 | 221 | 6,243 | 10,921 |
| BALUNGAO | 29 | % | 29 | % | 2,986 | 5,733 | 254 | 2,769 | 5,562 |
| NATIVIDAD | 27 | % | 27 | % | 2,035 | 4,341 | 431 | 1,949 | 4,914 |
| ROSALES | 62 | % | 62 | % | 3,935 | 12,415 | 654 | 3,605 | 12,267 |
| SAN MANUEL | 49 | % | 49 | % | 3,466 | 8,941 | 775 | 3,276 | 8,273 |
| SAN NICOLAS | 41 | % | 41 | % | 2,545 | 9,683 | 408 | 2,422 | 9,155 |
| SAN QUINTIN | 31 | % | 31 | % | 2,428 | 6,926 | 295 | 3,789 | 5,263 |
| STA MARIA | 40 | % | 40 | % | 2,595 | 6,962 | 255 | 2,550 | 6,683 |
| TAYUG | 40 | % | 48 | % | 4,147 | 8,763 | 505 | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| UMINGAN | 87 | % | 87 | % | 6,574 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | 12,448 |
| PROVINCIAL T | 2,832 | | 2,817 | | 281,892 | 432,864 | 86,072 | [illegible] | 390,668 |
| % PRECINCT T | 99.47% | | | | | | | | |

(Exhibit P)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUPREME COURT
MANILA

February 6, 1986

Gentlemen

Quoted hereunder for your information is a resolution of the Court En Banc dated February 6, 1986

G. R. No. 73568 (Corazon C. Aquino vs. Commission on Elections). At the hearing on the plea for the issuance of a temporary restraining order in this case this morning, Senator Lorenzo Tañada and Atty. Joker P. Arroyo appeared for the petitioner with Senator Tañada arguing for the petitioner. Assistant Solicitors General Eduardo Montenegro, Carlos N. Ortega and Roberto Abad appeared for the respondent with Assistant Solicitor General Montenegro arguing for the respondent. Atty. Arroyo argued in rebuttal.

The Court Resolved to (a) CONSIDER General Fabian C. Ver, petitioner in SPC 5385 before respondent Comelec impleaded as party-respondent and (b) REQUIRE respondents Comelec and General Ver to answer the petition within ten (10) days from notice.

On the application for the issuance of a temporary restraining order, the Court, in order to enable members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, including PC/INP officers and enlisted men, to vote in the polling places nearest their places of assignment as deputies of respondent Comelec, Resolved to ALLOW the said members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, including PC/INP officers and enlisted men, to so vote under the questioned Resolution No. 1768 dated February 5, 1986 under the following additional safeguards, in order to avoid flying voters and multiple voting, which safeguards must be strictly complied with by all concerned:

1) Each of such military voters must show proof of their being registered voters in the precinct of their respective places of legal residence;

2) They must show proof of their being on duty as deputies of the Comelec assigned in the place where they wish to vote, and identify themselves by their serial number and their military unit;

3) They must not be in uniform;

4) They must not carry any firearms;

5) They must vote singly or individually and not in groups;

6) The board of election inspectors shall in every case first satisfy itself that the military voter presenting himself to vote is in fact (a) on official mission at the place where he presents himself to so vote, and (b) is a duly registered voter in the precinct of his legal residence;

7) If the military voter complies with the above requirements, the chairman of the board shall hand him a ballot and allow him to cast his vote;

8) The board shall prepare a separate list of these military voters, which shall contain the name, signature and thumb print of the military voter, his military unit and serial number and the serial number of the ballot used and the precinct where he is duly registered as a voter, which list shall be prepared in six copies and shall also be signed by the chairman and members of the board of inspectors, and shall be distributed in the same manner as election returns under section 214 of the Omnibus Election Code;

9) The ballots so cast by the military voters shall be segregated and upon their being cast shall be temporarily deposited in the compartment for spoiled ballots until ready to be counted and canvassed at the commencement of the counting of the ballots;

10) Only the ballots cast by the regular and duly registered voters of the polling place shall be counted and entered in the election return.

11) The board of inspectors shall make a separate counting of the ballots cast by the military voters and issue a separate certificate in six copies to be distributed in the same manner as the election returns. Said certificate shall be signed by all members of the board of inspectors. Said ballots after being counted by the board of inspectors shall remain separated and wrapped in a separate bundle and placed inside the ballot box; and

12) The number of votes cast for any candidate and the ballots cast by the military voters shall not be included in the canvass nor counted as valid votes for any candidate until after this case shall have been resolved on the merits and resolved in favor of the validity of the questioned Comelec resolution.

The Comelec is ORDERED (1) to cause the publication of this Resolution in the Bulletin Today and Philippine Inquirer issues of tomorrow, February 7, 1986; (2) to cause, immediately upon receipt hereof, the dissemination at regular intervals of its text and conditions over all radio and television stations throughout the country today, February 6, 1986, and tomorrow, February 7, 1986; and (3) to furnish copies hereof to all election registrars and Boards of Election Inspectors throughout the country for their strict compliance. "Aquino, C.J. was absent: Teehankee, J., presided. Concepcion, Jr., Escolin and Alampay, JJ. were absent.

G.R. No. 73568
February 6, 1986

Teehankee, J. filed the following separate statement: "I concur in the Court's Resolution for the purpose of reaching the required eight (8) votes for its approval. I have serious reservations and doubts as to the validity of the questioned Comelec Resolution and lack of fair play which amounts to denial of due process. It is incomprehensible under the Rule of Law how and why a petition of General Ver dated January 10, 1986 would be acted upon at the last hour by the Comelec without notice to petitioner as the party principally affected, without hearing and without the publication therein expressly ordered."

Gutierrez, Jr., concurred in by Abad Santos, J., filed the following separate statement: "I concur in the Court's Resolution so that we can have the necessary number of votes. I, however, express my reservations as to the validity of the questioned Comelec resolution in the light of one of the requirements in Article III of the Constitution that suffrage shall be exercised only by those who have resided in the place where they propose to vote for at least six months before the date of election."

Cuevas, J., filed the following statement: "Although I entertain serious doubts not only as to the validity but more importantly the constitutionality of the questioned Comelec resolution and in order not to prematurely disenfranchise the deputized military officers and enlisted men who could not vote at their voting centers where they are registered due to circumstances not of their own making and to enable them to exercise their sovereign rights of suffrage, I vote to allow said military officers and enlisted men to vote at their respective places of assignment subject to the additional safeguards imposed in the resolution of this Court.

Very truly yours,

(SGD)GLORIA C. PARAS
Clerk of Court

Attys. Lorenzo M. Tañada
& Joker P. Arroyo (x)
Counsel for Petitioner
1149 Tamarind Road, Dasmariñas
Village, Makati, Metro Manila

The Solicitor General (x)
134 Amorsolo Street
Legaspi Village, Makati
Metro Manila

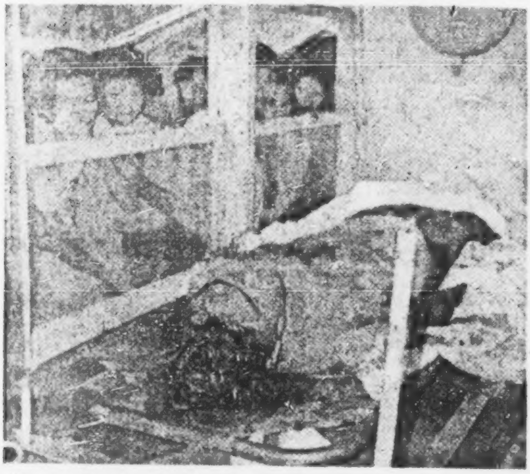
COMELEC (x)
Intramuros, Manila

General Fabian Ver (x)
Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City

(Exhibit Q)

# PC officer arrested

Bulletin Today. Feb. 13/86



## Assassins' victim

Antique residents look in tears at the body of former Gov. Evelio Javier at the Antique Provincial Hospital. A Constabulary captain has been ordered arrested as suspect in the killing of the opposition leader. (Albert Lee)

*By ISIDRO M. ROMAN*

A Constabulary officer was ordered arrested yesterday as a suspect in the assassination of former Antique Gov. Evelio Javier in front of the provincial capitol in San Jose Tuesday morning.

The officer was identified as Capt. John Paloy of the Antique PC-INP command. He was ordered arrested and disarmed by Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, PC-INP chief and Armed Forces vice chief of staff.

According to the PC, Paloy was identified by eyewitnesses as the leader of the armed group that gunned down Javier at about 10:30 a.m. Tuesday. Javier, 43, was peppered with bullets from M-16 Armalite rifles.

In an order, Ramos told Brig. Gen. Dionisio Tan-Gatue Jr., PC-INP Region 6 commander, to arrest and disarm other military or police personnel linked to the Javier assassination.

One of those implicated was identified as Edgardo Iran alias "Boy Muslim," a dismissed PC solider who has been sentenced to death in absentia for the gun-slaying of newsman Walter Sisbrenio in Naga City.

Iran, according to reports, worked as a "tong collector" for a military officer while assigned to Camarines Sur in the early 1980s.

He escaped from the military police brigade in Camp Aguinaldo while awaiting trial before a military court for the Sisbrenio slaying.

Ramos warned that any military or police personnel trying to cover up "efforts to bring the killers of Gov. Javier to justice" will be dealt with severely.

He also ordered Tan-Gatue to provide secur-

*(Turn to page 24, col. 7)*

continuation not available

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Manila

OFFICE OF COMMISIONER RAMON H. FELIPE, JR.

1075-23RLD 930AM 72PD PRTYDTRUSHHHHHHH
ILOILOCITY FEB6/86

URGENT
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
MLA
C/O COMMISSIONER RAMON ELIPE

COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF COM. R. H. FELIPE, JR.
RECEIVED Sealed
BY (Illegible)
DATE 2-6 TIME 11 a.m.

LAST SUNDAY IN NORTHERN TOWN OF CULASI I WENT UP MUNICIPAL BUILDING LOOKING FOR COMELEC REGISTRAR. WAS MET AND SURROUNDED BY MORE THAN TWENTY SOLDIERS FRISLING WITH ARMALITES. THEY STARTED CRAKING THEIR GUNS .

REPORTS SAY THERE WERE MORE THAN 50 OF THEM NEW IMPOTS FROM MARINES AND AIR FORCE AND ONE HUNDRED MORE ARE COMING. THEY ARE STAYING IN MUNICIPAL BUILDING. THEY WERE BROUGHT IN BY HELICOPTER AND MILITARY TRUCKS AT THE SAME TIME PACIFICADOR CAMPAIGNED IN CULASI USING MILITARY HELICOPTER.

ON THE WAY TO SAN JOSE, I MET ANOTHER TRUCKLOAD OF UNIFORMED ARMED MEN. ANTIQUE IS TEEMING WITH UNIDENTIFIED ARMED MEN IN UNIFORM WHO MENACE OUR PEOPLE.

HAVE PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED AND AM REITERATING THAT REQUEST FOR OFFICIAL ACTION FROM MANILA. REPEAT FROM MANILA TO BE ASSIGNED TO ANTIQUE AND STAY UNTIL ELECTION RESULTS ARE COMPLETED AND BROUGHT TO MANILA.

IF THIS REQUEST IS NOT GRANTED, I AM AFRAID THE 1984 AMBUSH MASSACRE WILL BE REPEATED AND MORE.

REGARDS

VELIO JAVIER

TPD

COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF COM. R. H. FELIPE, JR.
RECEIVED
BY (Illegible)
DATE 2-6 TIME 2:10 p.m.

(NOTE BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: True copy of telegram provided by COMELEC. Text and spelling as shown on original. Original containing additional markings is on file with Committee.)

Listing of NAMFREL Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 1

(Exhibit R)

## LISTING OF NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS INJURED / MISSING / DETAINED / KILLED OR HAVE DIED

BASED ON SUBMITTED REPORTS
AS OF FEBRUARY 13, 1986
TIME OF REPORT: 5 PM

### NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS INJURED IN THE LINE OF DUTY

| SERIAL # | NAME | DESIGNATION | HOW HURT | BY WHOM | PLACE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | Unidentified | Volunteer | punched | Mayor | Taytay, Rizal. |
| 2367 | Unidentified (117) | Volunteers | fired upon ...minor injuries | Armed men | Ma. Clara ES. Grace Park, Caloocan. |
| 141 | Unidentified (73) | Volunteers (6) | forced outside and beaten up | goons | Tunasan Elem. School Munitinlupa. |
| 421 | Vic and Bong Reymo (3452) | Volunteers | physically injured and beaten up | Cenon Cayetano | Bo. San JOse, Mandaluyong. |
| 0 | Unidentified | Volunteer | mauled and shot at | goons | Jolo Elem. School, Mandaluyong. |
| 0 | Unidentified | Volunteers (2) | beaten up | goons | Mandaluyong. |
| 262 | Tony Esteban, Jr. | Volunteer | manhandled | Barromo Bgy. Captain | Not specified |
| 2816 | Unidentified | Volunteer | manhandled | goons | Near Valley Golf Club |
| 0 | Unidentified | Volunteer | punched and harmed | Eusebio Mangtenggol KBL Coordinator | Mandaluyong |
| 385 | Unidentified | Volunteers | harassed and punched | KBL Coordinator | Not specified |
| 260 | Ding Silva (2513) | NAMFREL Lawyer | forced outside then mauled | Bgy. Chairman and goons | Not specified |
| 18 | Unidentified | Volunteer | hit in the face | KBL goons | Not specified |
| 179 | Unidentified | Volunteers (3) | mauled | heavily armed men | Makati |
| 73 | Unidentified | Volunteers | hauled into car and beaten up by 6 persons | goons | Tunasan, Muntinlupa. |
| 264 | Unidentified | NAMFREL Chairman | beaten up | goons | BF Homes, Las Pinas. |
| 336 | Unidentified (2519) | Volunteers | mauled, pillbox explosion, hospitalized. | goons | Mandaluyong Munc. ES, |
| 88 | Unidentified | Volunteers | severely beaten up, hospitalized. | goons | Mandaluyong. |
| 0 | Unidentified | Volunteers (2) | shot at | armed men | Pampang, Sorsogon.<br>[illegible] NOT NAMFREL |
| 792 | Unidentified | Female Volunteers | attacked | policemen | Makati. |
| 0 | Antonio Abano | Volunteer | punched | officials | Pasay. |
| 3022 | Willie Rivera (RFM 92) | NAMFREL Chairman | stabbed in fron of San Bartolome Church | goons | Tanong, Malabon. |
| RFM 45 | Tony Ventura | Volunteer | choked | Eddie Tagalog | Makati. |
| 468 | Unspecified names | Volunteers | beaten up | Makati policemen | Makati Municipal Hall |

Listing of NAMFREL Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 2

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2439 Benjamin Tuazon (290,279) | Volunteer | beaten up | armed goons connected with | Jolo ES, Mandaluyong. |
| | | | the mayor's office | |
| 2438 Bro. Stanley Almosare | Volunteer | hit on the head | armed goons | Jolo ES, Prct 147-148 |
| | | | | Mandaluyong. |
| RFM 143 Unspecified names | Volunteers | beaten up | goons | Makati. |
| | | | (R. Pangilinan and E. Tagalog) | |
| RFM 66A Unspecified names | Volunteers | manhandled | goons | Guadalupe Nuevo ES |
| 213 Benedicto Azcarraga | Volunteer | beaten up, big cut on the head | goons | Makati Municipal Hall |
| 644 Michael and Trixie Trinidad | Volunteers | beaten up | goons | Makati |
| 1221 Mulio Binoy and Others | Volunteers | beaten up | goons, men in | Makati. |
| | | | plain clothes | |
| Ateneo 10Unspecified names (131,2413) | Volunteers | mauled and cameras taken | unspecified | Bayanan |
| Loyola (468) | | | | |
| 1346 Policarpio Carada | Chairman | shot twice | Bgy. Chairman | Sta. Maria, Tondo |
| 1546 Ida Pimiento | volunteer | harassed | | |
| 150 Jun Bautista | volunteer | slapped | | Region 12, Maguidanao |
| 543 Leonardo Vener | volunteer | shot | Bgy. Captain | Mandaluyong |
| 3366 Unspecified (RFM 115) | volunteers | ignored and pushed around | Bgy. official | 509 Ligaya St., Tondo |
| | | | unidentified | P. Villanueva Street, |
| 1114 Unspecified | volunteers | beaten up | | Pasay City. |
| refer to:(2921,2914,2526) | | | Seveng Victorino | Benitez ES, Cacarong, |
| 2913 Unspecified | | | Buddy Pangilinan | Bo.Sta. Cruz, Makati. |
| | volunteers | slapped because of questioning | Tanggol | Bangkal ES, Makati |
| RFM 79 Unspecified | | | Yabut Campaign officer | |
| | volunteers | sent out and beaten up | | |
| 3004 Unspecified (87) | volunteers | beaten up | KBL member | Sta. Cruz, Mkt. |
| 637 Unspecified | volunteer - f | manhandled | KBL Bgy. Captains | Tejeros,W Rembo, |
| 2516 Son of Mr. Antonio Esteban | volunteer | beaten up | unspecified | Makati Municipio |
| refer to:(726,2518) | | | Filemon Serano | B. Isidro ES, |
| 3335 Unspecified | photographer | mauled | and thugs | Bo. Isidro, Makati. |
| refer to:(3332,3383) | | | 7 unidentified men | Malvar ES,Bankal, |
| 201 Greg Avinas | | | | Makati. |
| | | held by goons | | |
| **200 Chairman of Namayan** | **Chairman** | **beaten up, his car was stoned** | goons | Namayan, Mandaluyong. |
| **3362 Atty. Intalan** | **NAMFREL lawyer** | **punched in the nose** | | |
| refer to:(RFM 13,3305) | | | **Gegie dela Cruz** | Isaac Lopez ES, |
| 2390 Unspecified | | | Bgy. Captain | Tejeron, Mand. |
| | unspeciiied | harassed and beaten with 2X2 | Bgy. Captain | Prec. 31&31-A, |
| RFM 39 brother of Victor Macum | volunteer | mauled | | Buhagong Bato, Mand. |
| | | | Cesar Trinidad | Abad Santos ES, |
| 3437 Mun (272) | volunteer | | Bgy. Captain | Tondo, Manila. |
| | | taken at gunpoint but later released | unspecified | Alabang ES, Munt. |
| | | money taken | | |
| 2523 Unspecified | volunteers | | | |
| 2034 Unspecified | | firing inside precinct,camera taken | 14 armed men | Prec. 183, Muntinlupa |
| | volunteers | scuffles with armed police | armed police | San Pablo Bgy Center |
| 2907 Unspecified (2906) | volunteers | scuffles with minor injuries | Mrs. Cuneta | Villamor Pasay South |
| 2606 Unspecified (348) | | | and goons | Heights, Psay. |
| | 7 volunteers | arrested,beaten up,charred | 10-15 riot police | Pasay Municipal Hall |
| | | and picked up | | |
| 6 Unidentified | volunteers | harassed | | |
| | | | Corporal Vida | Gotangco ES, |
| 620 Unidentified | | | (policeman) | Sincego St.,Pasay. |
| | volunteers | intimidated | unidentified men | Pasay City Municipio. |
| 2097 Unidentified | | | in a yellow van | |
| | volunteers | maligned/heated argument | Bgy. Captain | Zamora Elem. School, |
| 663 Archimedes & Volunteers | co-chairman and | threatened | | Psay City. |
| | | | Pasay City | Pasay City Municipio |
| 764 Unspecified (3434) | NAMFREL | beaten up | Mayor's henchman | |
| | inspectors | | Resc Pagcalinawan | Capt.H.Francisco ES |
| | | | and Mundi Sta. Ana | Bgy. Sta. Ana,Pateros |

Listing of NAMFREL Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 3

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2360 | Unspecified | | volunteers | threatened | armed men | P. Gomez, Manila. |
| 92 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed | Bgy. Capt. Jimmy Cleofas and 5 goons | Bgy.Silanagan,Eulogio Rodriquez ES, QC. |
| 780 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed | KBL men | San Juan Munic. Hall. |
| 3007 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed | Irvin Apacible and goons | Pedro Cruz Precinct, San Juan. |
| 4307 | Unspecified | | volunteers | threatened at gunpoint | goon | picture in Malaya |
| 1017 | La Union Prov. Chairman | | Chairman | threatened | unidentified | Tubao, La Union. |
| 2057 | Mars Quesada | | In-Charge(North) | helicopter was forced down | unidentified helicopters (2) | Santiago, Isabela. |
| 1211 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed and not allowed inside VC | goons | Concepcion, Tarlac. |
| 1218 | Unspecified | | volunteers | barricaded | goons | Tarlac, Tarlac. |
| 3110 | Unspecified | | NAMFREL officials and volunteers | harassed | Bgy. Officials | Trece Martires, Cavite. |
| 1343 | Unspecified | (1809) | volunteers | harassed | driver of Mayor Verata | Amadeo, Trece Martires, Cavite. |
| 1302 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed, sent out | 30 armed goons and Assemblyman Luis Yulo | Sta. Cruz, Laguna. |
| 3103 | Unspecified | | volunteers | refused entry, harassed | Mayor's men | Sitio Halang, Victoria Felix, Riz. |
| 1315 | Unspecified | (1308) | volunteers | harassed and punched | Taytay mayor | Taytay, Rizal. |
| 1307 | Unspecified | | volunteers | confiscated cameras and harassed | Mayor Nicomedes Patina and goons | Unit I Pililia ES, Tabunan,Rizal. |
| 276 | Unspecified | (3120) | volunteers | harassed and forced out | mayor and goons | Cainta, Rizal. |
| 2390 | Baltazar | | volunteers | maltreated | KBL reps. | San Mateo, Rizal. |
| 1409 | Unspecified | (3217) | volunteers | beaten up | police and market guard | Camarines Sur |
| 141 | Unspecified (2) | | volunteers | shot | unidentified | Pampang, Sorsogon. |
| 1515 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed, film taken and confiscated | mayor | Guimbal, Iloilo. |
| 1601 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed and manhandled | unidentified men | Danao, Cebu. |
| 553 | Alex Yap (son of Chairman) | | volunteer | gunned down | Olpot Arradaga | Baybay, Leyte. |
| 2343 | Namfrel HQ | | | raided | military men | Baybay, Leyte. |
| 294 | Namfrel HQ | | | attacked | military men | Tacloban, Leyte. |
| 1805 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed | CHDF | Diyanan, Dipolog City Zamboanga del Norte |
| 801 | Unspecified | | volunteers | harassed | mayors | Maguindanao, Matanog, Cotabato. |
| 939 | Unspecified | | Dist. Chairman for muslim towns and 1 muslim munic. chairman | hunted | on orders of Ali Dimaporo | Lanao |
| 586 | RG Guevarra and Gerand Singson | | Volunteers | stoned | unspecified | Mandaluyong. |
| 695 | Unidentified | | Volunteers | shot at | armed men | Muntinlupa. |
| 1 | Unidentified | | Volunteers | threat,intimidation, terrorism | unspecified | Bamban,Concepcion Capas, Tarlac.<br>Pansi,Bulacan. |
| | | | | | military men | Mabalacat,Pampanga.<br>Cabanatuan,N.Ecija. |
| 1 | Atty. Conrado Baltazar | | Chairman | death threats | unspecified | La Union |
| 1 | Unidentified | | Volunteers | injuries | unspecified | Bgy. Tabuk & Sto. Rosario,San Juan, La Union. |
| 1 | Unspecified | | Volunters and BEI | threatened, offered bribes | unspecified | Agoo,La Union. |
| 1 | Unspecified | | Volunteers | threatened by showing guns,bullets | KBL watchers | Balaoan,La Union. |
| 1 | Unspecified | | Volunteers | intimidated | Gov. Dy's men | Isabela. |
| 1 | Unspecified | | Volunteers | slight injuries | unspecified | Negros Occidental. |
| 1 | Unspecified | | Volunteers | threatened | unspecified | Gingoog City, Misamis Oriental. |
| 1 | Unspecified | | Volunteers | harmed | Bgy. Officials | Agusan del Norte |

Listing of NAMFREL Volunteers : Injured, Missing, Detained, Dead or Killed ...page 4

```
     1 Unspecified                 Volunteers      intimidated and harassed
     1 Uspecified                  Volunteers      slapped                       unspecified      Agusan del Norte
                                                                                 unspecified      Cambagan,Bahi,
     1                                                                                            Tambis,Surigao Sur.

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

     TOTAL REPORTED CASES             99

=======================================================================================================================
```

NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS DETAINED OR MISSING IN ACTION

```
=======================================================================================================================

SERIAL #    NAME                  DESIGNATION      H O W   H U R T                 BY WHOM          PLACE

=======================================================================================================================
   418 Unspecified               volunteer        unspecified
   702 Mr. Tony Ventura          volunteer        unspecified (arrested)          unidentified      Navotas.
  2936 Unspecified               volunteers       plate no. MAY 652 - green       Makati police     J.P. Rizal cor. SSHW
                                                  Toyota Corolla                  goons             E. Bantay ES, Makati.
  2173 Unspecified               volunteer        arrested while stopping flying  plain clothes     Makati.
                                                  voters                          police
  1019 Assumption Num            volunteer        arrested ; locked in office
                                                                                  unspecified       Bangkal Health Ctr.
  4120 Manolo Avasena            strike force     missing, not yet returned home                    Gen. P. Santos, Mkt.
                                 to Guadalupe
  2137 Unspecified (5)           NAMFREL reps.    picked up and snatched IDs      Gov. Faustino Dee Santiago, Isabela.
  2327 Vicente Rosales           volunteer        beaten and arrested             CHDF              Concepcion, Tarlac.
  1338 Jimmy Baltazar and        Chairman and     locked in a room and harassed   local officials   San Mateo, Rizal.
     0 Vic Atanacio              Secretary
   551 Unspecified               volunteers       arrested and charged with illegal unidentified    Camores Island, Cebu.
                                                  possession of firearms.
   147 Unidentified              Volunteer        mauled then imprisoned          officials         Not specified

    73 Unidentified              Volunteers       beaten up,                      goons             Felipe St.,Guadalupe.
                                                  still missing
     1 Unspecified               Volunteers (2)   held inside a polling center    men of KBL        Bgy. Irisan
                                                                                  leader            Baguio City
     1 Unspecified               Volunteers (5)   arrested                        Gov. Dy's men     Isabela.
     1 Ferdinand Ebuenga         Vice-Chairman    missing                                           Masinloc,Zambales.
                                                  had PTF nos. 030221,030024-35 and 37
     1 Ed Locsin                 Volunteer        detained                                          Negros del Norte.
     1 Unidentified              Volunteer        arrested and freed after 3 hours  Mayor Perez     San Miguel,
                                                                                                    Agusan del Sur.
```

TOTAL CASES REPORTED 18

NAMFREL VOLUNTEERS MURDERED,KILLED OR HAVE DIED IN THE LINE OF DUTY

| SERIAL # | NAME | DESIGNATION | HOW HURT | BY WHOM | PLACE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1234 | Dan Sarmiento (1222) | NAMFREL Vice Chairman for Porac | heart attack during a heated argument due to irregularities | natural (police chief) | Porac, Pampanga.<br>-- |
| 0 | Rodrigo Ponce, Jr. | Volunteer | fatally injured from gunshot, died. | goons | Roxas City, Capiz. |
| 1353 | Alexis Panao | volunteer | shot to death after bravely challenging the anomalous counting of ballots | | Bunawan, Agusan del Sur. |

TOTAL CASES REPORTED 3

(Exhibit S)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PROVINCE OF SORSOGON ) S.S.
MUNICIPALITY OF CASIGURAN )
x - - - - - - - - - - - - x

# AFFIDAVIT

I, CRISANTO JUARDE, of legal age, married, Filipino and resident with postal address at Trece Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, deppse and say:

1. That I am presently the Barangay Captain of Trece-Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon and an active KBL leader of said locality;

That at about 10:00 o'clock P.M. on February 6, 1986 along the National Highway while walking in visiting house to house, a jeep stopped by my side and two unidentified men alighted and compronted me and asked me who I am and what I am doing and just told him I am the Barangay Captain. After identifying my self I was told that they know me and that they also know that I am campaigning for the KBL, then they told me to stop campaigning or else something well happened to me.

3. That consequently, due to fear and apprehensive of the treat on my life, I went home.

4. That this affidavit is executed freely and voluntarily to attest to the truth of the foregoing and for whatever legal purpose it may serve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this ~~10~~9th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon, Philippines.

CJuarde
CRISANTO JUARDE
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this ~~10~~9th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon.

HONESTO J. BORROMEO
(Officer Administering Oath)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
PROVINCE OF SORSOGON ) S.S.
MUNICIPALITY OF CASIGURAN )
x - - - - - - - - - - - - x

# AFFIDAVIT

I, JOSE HEBRES, of legal age, married, Filipino and resident with postal address at Trece Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon, after having been duly sworn to in accordance with law, depose and say:

1. That I am presently the Barangay Councilman of Trece-Martires, Casiguran, Sorsogon and an active KBL leader of said locality;

2. That at about 10:00 o'clock P.M. on February 6, 1986 along the National Highway while walking in visiting house to house, ajeep stopped by my side and two unidentified men alighted and compronted me and asked me who I am and what I am doing and just told him I am the Barangay Councilman.of After identifying my self I was told that they know me and that they also know that I am campaigning for the KBL, then they told me to stop campaigning or else something will happened to me.

3. That consequently, due to fear and apprehensive of the treat on my life, I went home.

4. That this affidavit is executed freely and voluntarily to attest to the truth of the foregoing and for whatever legal purpose it may serve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this ~~10~~9th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon, Philippines.

JOSE HEBRES
Affiant

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this ~~10~~9th day of February, 1986 at Casiguran, Sorsogon.

HONESTO J. BORROME
(Officer Administering Oath)

# MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MUNICIPAL CANVASS OF VOTES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CONDUCTED IN THE ABOVE MUNICIPALITY ON FEBRUARY 7, 1986

(Exhibit T)

The Election Registrar of [illegible] this province, [illegible] the Representative of [illegible] and that of the UNIDO to canvass the votes, [illegible] at about [illegible] in the afternoon this date. It commenced by opening the envelopes of the Election Returns and noting the entries in said returns in numerical order of the precincts.

Out of the fifty-nine precincts, eighteen had been excluded due to the following reasons described below:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Precinct No. | 2 - - - - - Balite, | Snatched by armed men | |
| 2. | -do- | 4 - - - - - Bugtosan | -do- | |
| 3. | -do- | 5 - - - - - [illegible] | -do- | |
| 4. | -do- | 6 - - - - - Tapoto-an | -do- | |
| 5. | -do- | 8 - - - - - Cuenco | -do- | |
| 6. | -do- | 11 - - - - - Dolores | -do- | |
| 7. | -do- | 16 - - - - - E. Lopez | -do- | |
| 8. | -do- | 21 - - - - - Bakadulé | -do- | |
| 9. | -do- | 25 - - - - - MacArthur | -do- | |
| 10. | -do- | 28 - - - - - Osmeña | -do- | |
| 11. | -do- | 30 - - - - - [illegible] | -do- | |
| 12. | -do- | [illegible] - - - - - [illegible] | -do- | |
| 13. | -do- | 31 - - - - - Pérez | ~~Prevented to hold election by NPA~~ | |
| 14. | -do- | 32 - - - - - Poblacion | -do- | |
| 15. | -do- | 34 - - - - - [illegible] | -do- | |
| 16. | -do- | [illegible] - - - - - San Francisco | -do- | |
| 17. | -do- | [illegible] - - - - - San Miguel | -do- | |
| 18. | -do- | [illegible] - - - - - Magsaysay | Protested by two lawyers of | |

the UNIDO for Election Returns submitted illegally and not in the proper C.E. form.

Another protest was filed by Attorney Harold Acompañado against the Board of Election Inspectors of Precinct No. 57 (Tagan-ayan) because they just utilized a small biscuit can as a ballot box.

Finally the Municipal Board of Canvassers dismissed after concluding the canvass of votes, now specified in the Result of the Canvass, being submitted to the Provincial Board of Canvassers.

WE HEREBY CERTIFY that the above is true and correct:

[illegible] P. [illegible]
KBL Representative

[illegible] M. [illegible]
UNIDO Representative

[illegible] E. FINGALERO
Election Registrar

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Intramuros, Manila
OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL ELECTION DIRECTOR
REGION XI, DAVAO CITY

February 13, 1986

In the areas where the KBL is strong & they

The Honorable Chairman
Commission on Elections
Metro Manila

Sir:

In connection with the February 7, 1986 Special Election for President and Vice President in Region XI, please find the Precincts reported by the Election Registrars where there was each a failure of election, the number of registered voters affected in the respective precinct and the corresponding cause/s therefore, to wit:

REGION XI

| PROVINCE | CITY/MUN | BARANGAY | PREC. NO. | NO. REG. VOTER |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. DAVAO | a. Pantukan | -Kingking | 19 | 362 |
| | | Cause: Ballot box was snatched by unidentified armed terrorists | | |
| | | -Napnapan | 47 | 211 |
| | | Cause: Board of Election Inspectors failed to arrive at the polling place due to lack of transportation | | |
| | b. Nabunturan | -Cabacungan | 20 | 412 |
| | | Cause: Ballot box was snatched by unidentified armed terrorits | | |
| | c. San Vicente | -Sabud | 48 | 164 |
| | | Cause: Board of Election Inspectors failed to hold election because of fear of armed terrorists | | |
| | | -Doña Josefa | 50 | 85 |
| | | Cause: Board of Election Inspectors failed to hold election because of fear of armed terrorists | | |
| | | -Malinao | 51 | 72 |
| | | Cause: Ballot box and election supplies were snatched by unidentified armed terrorists | | |

| PROVINCE | CITY/MUN | BARANGAY | PREC.NO. | NO.REG.VOTER |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | c. San Vicente | - Concepcion | 59 | 119 |
| | Cause: The ballot box and election records were taken by unidentified armed terrorists | | | |
| B. DAVAO DEL SUR | d. Malalag | -Mabini | 20 | 434 |
| | Cause: Armed terrorists snatched the ballot box | | | |
| | | -Mabini | 21 | 292 |
| | Cause: Armed terrorists snatched the ballot box | | | |
| C. SURIGAO SUR | e. Bislig | -Tumanan | 30 | 255 |
| | Cause. Armed terrorists burned the ballot box and election records | | | |
| | | -Caguyao | 34 | 177 |
| | Cause: Armed terrorists burned the ballot box and election records | | | |
| D. DAVAO ORIENTAL | f. Baganga | -Mahanub | 46 | 473 |
| | Cause: Ballot box and election records were snatched by unidentified armed terroris | | | |
| | | -Baculin | 16 | 259 |
| | Cause: Ballot box and election records were snatched by unidentified armed terroris | | | |
| | g. DAVAO CITY | -Tapak (Sitio Mirol-o Butay) | 568 | 343 |
| | Cause: Ballot box and election records were snatched by armed terrorists | | | |

TOTAL NO. OF PRECINCTS - - 14

TOTAL NO. OF REGISTERED VOTERS AFFECTED - - 3,658

Respectfully submitted for proper information and guidance.

Very respectfully yours,

RESURRECCION Z. BORRA
Regional Election Director

SSION OF ELECTIONS
OFFICE OF COM. R. H. FELIPE, JR.
RECEIVED
BY
DATE 2/14/86 TIME

(Exhibit U)

Republic of the Philippines
COMMISSION ON ELECTIONS
Manila

In re: Pre-Proclamation controversies in connection with the February 7, 1986 Presidential Elections.

Present:

| | |
|---|---|
| SAVELLANO, Victorino A., | Chairman |
| OPINION, Jaime, | Commission |
| BACUÑGAN, Fròilan M., | Commission |
| FELIPE, Ramon H., Jr., | Commission |
| MARQUINEZ, Quirino A., | Commission |
| ORTIZ, Mario D., | Commission |
| GURO, Mangontawar B., | Commission |
| AGPALO, Ruben E., | Commission |
| LAYOSA, Jaime J., | Commission |

Promulgated:

February 11, 1986

x - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - x

## RESOLUTION NO. 1774

WHEREAS, a number of pre-proclamation cases have been filed either with the local boards of canvassers or with this Commission directly, or on appeal, in connection with the recently concluded February 7, 1986 elections for President and Vice-President;

WHEREAS, the local boards of canvassers have the power to resolve, at their level, all pre-proclamation controversies as defined in Section 241 of the Omnibus Election Code;

WHEREAS, the question that confronts this Commission is whether or not it has jurisdiction to entertain and resolve pre-proclamation controversies involving the inclusion or exclusion of election returns in the canvass of votes by the local boards of canvassers;

WHEREAS, after a thorough study of the matter, this Commission has concluded that it has no jurisdiction to resolve the question of inclusion or exclusion of questioned election returns and that the question comes within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Batasang Pambansa, except as to matters involving this Commission's power of supervision and control over local boards of canvassers, in view of the following considerations:

1. A pre-proclamation controversy as defined under Section 241 of the Omnibus Election Code refers to any question pertaining to or affecting the proceedings of the board of canvassers or to any matter raised:

(a) When the election returns are delayed, lost or destroyed (Sec. 233, Omnibus Election Code);

(b) When there are material defects in the election returns (Sec. 235, ibid.);

(c) When election returns appear to be tampered with or falsified (Sec. 235, ibid.);

(d) When there are discrepancies in election returns (Sec. 236, ibid.).

Pursuant to Sec. 241 of the Code, a pre-proclamation controversy may be filed directly with this Commission. And as provided for in Section 242 of the Code, the Commission " x x x have exclusive jurisdiction of all pre-proclamation controversies, x x x ".

Section 241 and 242 of the Omnibus Election Code are based on the premise that the local boards of canvassers (provincial, city, and district boards of canvassers) make the proclamation of the winners in an elections. Such election can only refer either to an election for members of the Batasan, or for members of regional assemblies in Regions IX and XII, or for local officials. However, in an election for President and Vice-President, the local boards of canvassers do not proclaim the winners; they merely tabulate the election returns and prepare certificates of canvass of votes for transmission to the Batasang Pambansa. Under the Constitution, the sole authority to proclaim the winners in a presidential and vice-presidential election is the Batasang Pambansa.

Since the basic premise of Section 241 of the Code allowing the filing of a pre-proclamation controversy directly with this Commission and of Section 242 vesting in this Commission the exclusive jurisdiction to hear and decide pre-proclamation controversies is absent in the case of election for President and Vice-President, said provisions cannot be invoked to justify assumption by this Commission of the authority to resolve pre-proclamation controversies involving the inclusion or exclusion of disputed election returns.

2. Under the Constitution, the sole and exclusive authority to canvass the votes for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners on the basis of such canvass belongs to the Batasang Pambansa. Accordingly, all controversies concerning the canvass of votes should logically be resolved by the Batasan itself and not by another body or tribunal, for to rule otherwise is to have a situation where the latter may conceivably decide against the former, thus bringing about a split jurisdiction not sanctioned by law.

3. Under the Omnibus Election Code, the boards of canvassers may proceed to proclaim the winners in elections for Batasang Pambansa or for local officials even when there are disputed or challenged election returns, so long as the questioned returns will not affect the result of the election. (Sec. 244, last par., Omnibus Election Code). In an

election for President and Vice-President, only the Batasan can ascertain and know whether certain questioned returns will or will not affect the outcome of the election because it is the sole body mandated to canvass the votes for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners based thereon. Neither the local boards of canvassers nor this Commission can legally determine whether certain disputed election returns will affect the outcome of the election for President and Vice-President because neither of them has the authority to canvass the over-all votes throughout the country or to proclaim the winners. Hence, only Batasan can resolve controversies affecting such disputed election returns.

4. The role of local boards of canvassers and that of the Commission is merely supportive of the constitutional duty of the Batasang Pambansa to canvass the votes for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners. Since its role is merely supportive, and, therefore, subordinate to that of the Batasan, this Commission may not entertain and resolve controversies whose determination partakes of the nature of one which makes this Commission superior to that of the Batasan.

5. The Batasan has already convened as a national board of canvassers. In other words, it has already assumed jurisdiction over all questions and matters involving the canvass of votes for President and Vice-President. Hence, this Commission may not assume such authority as may encroach upon the power and jurisdiction of Batasan over canvass matters.

NOW, THEREFORE, in view of the foregoing, this Commission RESOLVED as follows:

1. To remand to local boards of canvassers all pre-proclamation controversies on cases filed directly with this Commission, with instruction that they immediately resolve them immediately and prepare, without delay, the certificates of canvass of votes for prompt submission to the Batasang Pambansa and that they make a summary, in a separate document, of the disputed election returns and the grounds for their inclusion or exclusion from the certificate of canvass of votes.

2. To refer to the Batasang Pambansa for its consideration, without préjudice to the Commission's expressing its opinions or views on the matter -

   (a) All appeals to this Commission from rulings of the local boards of canvassers concerning the inclusion or exclusion of returns; and

   (b) All cases pertaining to or affecting the proceedings of the local boards of canvassers.

Let the Assistant Executive Director for Operations implement this resolution.

SO ORDERED.

VICTORINO A. SAVELLANO
Chairman

JAIME OPINION
Commissioner

FROILAN M. BACUÑGAN
Commissioner

I concur just to expedite the disposition of these cases, otherwise they may be delayed by legal technicalities.

RAMON P. FELIPE, JR
Commissioner

QUIRINO A. MARQUINEZ
Commissioner

MARIO D. ORTIZ
Commissioner

MANGONTAWAR B. GURO
Commissioner

RUBEN E. AGPALO
Commissioner

JAIME [illegible]. LAYOSA
Commissioner

(Exhibit V)

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
FIRST BATASANG PAMBANSA
METRO MANILA

Second Regular Session

RESOLUTION NO. 799

BATASANG PAMBANSA
RECEIVED

---

Introduced by Hon. Albano, Britanico, Garcia (M.M.),
Asok and Diel

---

RESOLUTION
PROCLAIMING FERDINAND E. MARCOS AND ARTURO M. TOLENTINO AS THE DULY ELECTED PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, RESPECTIVELY.

WHEREAS, in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution, as amended, and of Batas Pambansa Blg. [illegible], the Speaker, assisted by the Board of Tellers, has canvassed the returns and publicly counted the votes cast at the election for the offices of the President and Vice-President of the Philippines, held last February 7, 1986, and has found that for said office FERDINAND E. MARCOS and ARTURO M. TOLENTINO have received the highest number of votes for the offices of President and Vice-President, respectively: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Batasang Pambansa, By virtue of the result of the canvass of election returns of the election held on February 7, 1986, to proclaim, as it hereby proclaims, FERDINAND E. MARCOS as the duly elected President of the Philippines, and ARTURO M. TOLENTINO as the duly elected Vice-President of the Philippines.

Adopted,

Republic of the Philippines
BATASANG PAMBANSA
Quezon City, Metro Manila

## REPORT OF THE SPEAKER TO THE BATASANG PAMBANSA ON THE RECEIPT AND OPENING OF CERTIFICATES OF CANVASS, AND THE COUNTING OF VOTES APPEARING THEREON IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ON FEBRUARY 7, 1986

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 5, Article VII of the Constitution, the pertinent portion of which is hereby quoted, to wit:

> "The returns of every election for President, duly certified by the board of canvassers of each province or city, shall be transmitted to the Speaker at the Batasang Pambansa, who shall, not later than thirty days after the day of the election, and in the presence of the Batasang Pambansa open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted.
>
> "The person having the highest number of votes shall be proclaimed elected; but in case two or more shall have an equal and the highest number of votes, one of them shall forthwith be chosen by a vote of a majority of all the Members of the Batasang Pambansa in session assembled,"

the Speaker has the honor to submit the following report:

1. A total of one hundred forty (140) certificates of canvass, duly certified by the Board of Canvassers of each province, city, and district, were received by the Office of the Speaker from February 7 to February 15, 1986.

Copies of the pertinent reports of the Secretary-General of the Batasang Pambansa, who has been tasked to receive, for and in behalf of the Speaker, the said certificates of canvass, are hereto attached as Annex A".

2. On February 10, 1986 the Batasan resumed its session. A Board of Tellers was formed to assist the Speaker in the opening of the certificates of canvass, as well as the counting of votes cast for President and Vice-President

appearing thereon. The Board of Tellers had four Members from the Majority Party and four Members from the Opposition.

The envelopes containing the certificates of canvass were opened in the presence of the Batasang Pambansa.

In the course of the opening of the envelopes containing the certificates of canvass and the counting of votes appearing on said certificates of canvass, various observations were made by the Members of the Board of Tellers as well as by some Members of the Batasang Pambansa. A tabulation of these observations is hereto attached as Annex "B".

It is worthwhile mentioning that all of the above proceedings were witnessed by the general public and, upon our invitation, by the representatives and legal counsel of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and the representatives and legal counsels of the KBL, the UNIDO, and the Liberal Party.

The Batasang Pambansa also invited representatives of certain groups and organizations, particularly, the NAMFREL, the Integrated Bar of the Philippines, the Rotary Club of the Philippines, the Philippine Jaycees, and the MOVER, to observe the proceedings.

After considering the observations made by the Members of the Board of Tellers and other Members of the Batasang Pambansa, the results of the counting of votes are as follows:

For President:

| | |
|---|---|
| FERDINAND E. MARCOS . . . . | 10,807,197 |
| CORAZON C. AQUINO . . . . . | 9,291,716 |
| REUBEN R. CANOY . . . . . . | 34,041 |
| NARCISO S. PADILLA . . . . | 23,652 |

For Vice-President:

| | |
|---|---|
| ARTURO M. TOLENTINO . . . | 10,134,130 |
| SALVADOR H. LAUREL . . . | 9,173,105 |
| EVA ESTRADA KALAW . . . . | 662,185 |
| ROGER ARIENDA . . . . . . | 35,974. |

The tabulation containing the results of the votes counted by province, city, and district in Metro Manila is hereby attached as Annex "C"

On the basis of the aforementioned results of the votes counted, the Speaker finds that His Excellency, President Ferdinand E. Marcos garnered the highest number of votes for the position of President of the Philippines, and Honorable Arturo M. Tolentino, MP, garnered the highest number of votes for the position of Vice-President of the Philippines.

Therefore, the Speaker recommends that the Batasang Pambansa proclaim FERDINAND E. MARCOS as the duly elected President of the Philippines and ARTURO M. TOLENTINO as the duly elected Vice-President of the Philippines.

NICANOR E. YÑIGUEZ
Speaker

BOARD OF TELLERS

| | |
|---|---|
| Regular Member | Regular Member |
| Regular Member | Regular Member |
| Regular Member | Regular Member |

Regular Member

Regular Member

Alternate Member

Alternate Member

[illegible] 7/91

[illegible]

Alternate Member

Alternate Member

Alternate Member

Alternate Member

Alternate Member

TO : THE SPEAKER
FROM : THE SECRETARY- GENERAL
RE : NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES OF CANVASS RECEIVED

PURSUANT TO Memorandum Order No. 05-86 (Speaker) dated February 3, 1986, herewith is a report on the number of certificates of canvess received from the various Provincial/City/District Board of Canvassers and the date and time of their receipt by the Office of the Speaker as of 5:00 P.M. today.

| Name of Province/City/ District | Date and Time of Receipt | |
|---|---|---|
| Cavite City | Feb. 8 | - 2:05 a.m. |
| Tagaytay City | 8 | - 10:37 a.m. |
| Olongapo City | 8 | - 12:16 p.m. |
| Lucena City | 8 | - 12:30 p.m. |
| Lipa City | 8 | - 2:20 p.m. |
| San Jose City, Nueva Ecija | 8 | - 2:50 p.m. |
| Trece Martires City | 8 | - 5:56 p.m. |
| Angeles City | 8 | - 8:20 p.m. |
| RIZAL | 8 | - 8:42 p.m. |
| San Pablo City | 8 | - 9:10 p.m. |
| N C R . (Las Piñas, Parañaque) | 8 | - 9:50 p.m. |
| Region IV (Batangas) | 8 | - 10:11 p.m. |
| Pampanga | 9 | - 12:11 a.m. |
| CAVITE PROVINCE | 9 | - 2:50 p.m. |
| Muntinlupa, Taguig, Pateros | 9 | - 3:39 p.m. |
| Cotabato City | | |
| Dapitan City | 9 | - 4:00 p.m. |
| General Santos City | 9 | - 5:17 p.m. |
| Occidental Mindoro | 9 | - 5:41 p.m. |
| Quezon City | 9 | - 6:03 p.m. |
| Camiguin Province | | - 6:21 p.m. |
| Marinduque | 9 | - 7:10 p.m. |
| Bataan | 9 | - 7:10 p.m. |
| Pasig, Marikina | 9 | - 7:29 p.m. |
| Malabon, Navotas, Valenzuela | 9 | - 8:05 p.m. |
| BULACAN | 10 | - 12:31 a.m. |
| Batangas City | 10 | - 1:00 a.m. |
| Naga City | 10 | - 9:55 a.m. |
| Catanduanes | 10 | - 10:10 a.m. |
| San Carlos City, Pangasinan | 10 | - 10:25 a.m. |
| Laoag City | 10 | - 10:45 a.m. |
| ILOCOS NORTE | 10 | - 11:05 a.m. |
| Ozamiz City | 10 | - 11:08 a.m. |
| Gingoog City | 10 | - 11:40 a.m. |
| LA UNION | 10 | - 11:58 a.m. |
| BASILAN | 10 | - 12:11 p.m. |
| | 10 | - 12:50 p.m. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cabanatuan City | Feb. 10 | - 2:30 p.m. |
| Palayan City | 10 | - 2:35 p.m. |
| NUEVA ECIJA | 10 | - 2:35 p.m. |
| Aurora | 10 | 3:42 p.m. |
| Mandaue City | | - 4:00 p.m. |
| Lapu-Lapu City | | - 4:05 p.m. |
| Toledo city | | - 4:04 p.m. |
| Siquijor | | - 4:20 p.m. |
| Ormoc City | | - 4:31 p.m. |
| Southern Leyte | | - 4:37 p.m. |
| North Cotabato | | - 4:50 p.m. |
| 48. Danao City | | - 4:55 p.m. |

For the Speaker's information.

February 10, 1986.

ANTONIO M. DE GUZMAN

[illegible]

| REGION PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT | | | | VICE PRESIDENT | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OSMENA STUART (UNIDO | ARIENDO (MOTOR |
| N C R | 4,278,410 | 12,330 | | 1,394,818 | 1,614,668 | 794 | 10,687 | 1,411,863 | 1,366,1625 | 219,763 | | 16,009 |
| I | 1,949,239 | 6,480 | | 1239825 | 431877 | 282 | 3399 | 1173312 | 394255 | 96257 | | 3410 |
| II | 1,189,565 | 4,007 | | 856026 | 139666 | 111 | 381 | 825886 | 150538 | 8111 | | 620 |
| III | 2,550,935 | 7,901 | | 1,011,860 | 1,008,139 | 243 | 2,268 | 984,045 | 920,098 | 104,957 | | 4,818 |
| IV | 3,364,298 | 10,668 | | 1190804 | 1425143 | 336 | 3831 | 853600 | 1691011 | 58524 | | 5974 |
| V | 1,513,203 | 5,634 | | 433809 | 761538 | 258 | 376 | 388961 | 774336 | 25654 | | 645 |
| VI | 2,159,736 | 7,886 | | 902,682 | 777,312 | 386 | 244 | 814,916 | 783,183 | 36,910 | | 35[illegible] |
| VII | 1,988,641 | 6,562 | | 773604 | 827912 | 4012 | 394 | 790432 | 799565 | 7571 | | 417 |
| VIII | 1,325,813 | 5,546 | | 627868 | 411284 | 475 | 213 | 606648 | 403660 | 21931 | | 110 |
| IX | 1,279,148 | 4,410 | | 540,570 | 365,195 | 3686 | 505 | 531,457 | 359,502 | 5,192 | | 568 |
| X | 1,455,801 | 4,632 | | 563547 | 519841 | 8244 | 223 | 552528 | 519502 | 7451 | | 300 |
| XI | 1,753,779 | 5,178 | | 609540 | 662799 | 13413 | 773 | 599462 | 635701 | 37640 | | 1815 |
| XII | 1,373,261 | 4,809 | | 662247 | 346330 | 1801 | 358 | 601020 | 375595 | 12224 | | 944 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| T O T A L | 26,181,829 | 86,043 | | 10,807,197 | 9,291,716 | 34,041 | 23,652 | 10,134,130 | 9,173,105 | 662,185 | | 35,974 |

Overstaffed Precincts

precincts with extra precincts

| REGION I PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OSMENA STUART (UNIDO) | (MO |
| A ABRA | 87,366 | 340 | 340 | 77386 | 3794 | 4 | 17 | 76233 | 4441 | 159 |  | 33 |
| A BENGUET | 115,154 | 379 | 379 | 41756 | 51826 | 73 | 1641 | 42638 | 47939 | 2694 |  | 1398 |
| BAGUIO CITY | 86,158 | 243 | ? | 41540 | 24803 | 53 | 740 | 40937 | 22363 | 3137 |  | 763 |
| 127 ILOCOS NORTE | 197,983 | 624 | 761 | 189897 | 718 | 2 | 6 | 187440 | 2430 | 302 |  | 9 |
| LAOAG CITY | 45,775 | 136 | 136 | 43189 | 888 | 2 | 4 | 42460 | 1342 | 208 |  | 13 |
| NF ILOCOS SUR | 247,587 | 960 | ? | 191613 | 28063 | 7 | 37 | 184184 | 32937 | 785 |  | 48 |
| NF LA UNION | 264,103 | 791 | ? | 204844 | 27480 | 26 | 149 | 197273 | 31834 | 2479 |  | 205 |
| 52 MT. PROVINCE | 46,245 | 171 | 119 | 9803 | 10664 | 29 | 358 | 9407 | 10340 | 410 |  | 260 |
| A PANGASINAN | 757,935 | 2,455 | 2455 | 398138 | 240565 | 76 | 400 | 357257 | 208983 | 68443 |  | 593 |
| NF DAGUPAN CITY | 53,992 | 230 | ? | 22022 | 23,95 | 10 | 44 | 19201 | 16510 | 10417 |  | 88 |
| A SAN CARLOS C. | 46,941 | 151 | 151 | 19537 | 19281 | 0 | 0 | 16282 | 15136 | 7223 |  | 0 |
| TOTAL | 1,949,239 | 6,480 |  | 1239825 | 431877 | 282 | 3399 | 1173312 | 394255 | 96257 |  | 341 |

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19
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20
21

| REGION II PROVINCE CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | VICE PRESIDENT TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OTHERS STUART (UNIDO) | ARREN (MOTOR) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BATANES | 7,022 | 34 | ? | 2808 | 2944 | 2 | 7 | 2817 | 2944 | 16 | | 10 |
| CAGAYAN | 366,976 | 1,240 | 1222 | 275925 | 42903 | 18 | 37 | 271387 | 43823 | 1305 | | 77 |
| IFUGAO | 51,326 | 192 | ? | 4742 | 6600 | 3 | 80 | 4334 | 6281 | 589 | | 92 |
| ISABELA | 459,837 | 1,521 | ? | 402860 | 20072 | 15 | 19 | 394085 | 21016 | 1008 | | 151 |
| KALINGA APAYAO | 39,285 | 348 | ? | 77429 | 10624 | 49 | 92 | 72797 | 10626 | 3944 | | [illegible] |
| NUEVA VIZCAYA | 133,239 | 510 | 490 | 55847 | 49734 | 23 | 138 | 51352 | 52080 | 1161 | | 200 |
| QUIRINO | 43,351 | 162 | 160 | 36415 | 6739 | 1 | 8 | 29114 | 13768 | 88 | | 11 |
| TOTAL | 1,183,565 | 4,007 | | 856026 | 139666 | 111 | 381 | 825886 | 150538 | 8111 | | 620 |

|  | REGION III PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE-PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | [illegible] (SDP) | [illegible] STUART (UNIDO) | AR[illegible]IO |
| 15 | BATAAN | 186,380 | 566 | 551 | 70744 | 66211 | 24 | 168 | 68268 | 62553 | [illegible] |  | 347 |
| A | BULACAN | 630,024 | 1,823 | 1823 | 219132 | 275738 | 127 | 819 | 217443 | 238810 | [illegible] |  | 1885 |
| 13 | NUEVA ECIJA | 430,876 | 1,447 | 1434 | 222095 | 131814 | 18 | 116 | 210492 | 134169 | [illegible] |  | 333 |
| A | CABANATUAN C. | 76,486 | 231 | 231 | 38202 | 24615 | 5 | 13 | 36915 | 24073 | 1582 | 62 | 62 |
| A | PALAYAN CITY | 9,854 | 36 | 36 | 7718 | 1128 | 0 | 11 | 6960 | 1740 | [illegible] |  | 0. |
| A | SAN JOSE CITY | 37,385 | 114 | 114 | 21017 | 11966 | 2 | 10 | 19254 | 10692 | [illegible] |  | 27 |
| 47 | PAMPANGA | 460,807 | 1,421 | 1374 | 114733 | 243672 | 29 | 456 | 115287 | 209700 | [illegible] |  | 975 |
| NF | ANGELES CITY | 98,044 | 343 | ? | 19898 | 49923 | 9 | 300 | 20997 | 38766 | [illegible] |  | 434 |
| 44. | TARLAC | 353,414 | 1,067 | 1,033 | 166,400 | 119,224 | 5 | 114 | 161,970 | 113,906 | [illegible] |  | 846 |
| NF | ZAMBALES | 159,821 | 518 | ? | 82782 | 50151 | 11 | 174 | 79252 | 52395 | [illegible] |  | 277 |
| NF | OLONGAPO C. | 108,844 | 335 | ? | 48339 | 33710 | 13 | 97 | 47287 | 33291 | [illegible] |  | 125 |
|  | TOTAL | 2,550,935 | 7,901 |  | 1,011,860<br>~~844060~~ | 1,008,159<br>~~888928~~ | 219<br>~~230~~ | 2,268<br>~~2154~~ | 984,045<br>~~822075~~ | 980,095<br>~~806409~~ | 104,137<br>~~97248~~ |  | 4,811<br>~~4463~~ |

|  | REGION IV PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (BDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OSMENA STUART (UNIDO) | ARIENDA (MOTOR) |
| NF | AURORA | 49,894 | 200 | ? | 19,891 | 19,071 | 15 | 16 | 18,739 | 19,565 | 509 |  | 29 |
| NF | BATANGAS | 482,645 | 1,443 | ? | 155,474 | 236,616 | 26 | 309 | 31,211 | 359,542 | 2,143 |  | 547 |
| NF | BATANGAS CITY | 77,976 | 229 | ? | 23,020 | 41,226 | 7 | 96 | 5,841 | 58,023 | 441 |  | 96 |
| NF | LIPA CITY | 64,424 | 206 | ? | 20,525 | 32,742 | 9 | 43 | 7,620 | 41,588 | 4,153 |  | 60 |
| +3 | CAVITE | 435,456 | 1,215 | 1,218 | 198,574 | 139,574 | 47 | 769 | 178,925 | 147,039 | 9,861 |  | 1,456 |
| A | CAVITE CITY | 56,595 | 170 | 170 | 30,221 | 15,195 | 5 | 152 | 28,451 | 15,477 | 1,244 |  | 279 |
| A | TAGAYTAY CITY | 11,016 | 33 | 33 | 5,060 | 3,132 | 1 | 10 | 3,472 | 4,630 | 80 |  | 12 |
| ~~A~~ | TRECE MARTIRES CITY | 8,7[illegible] | 19 | 19 | 7,415 | 162 |  |  | 6,159 | 1,202 |  |  | 1 |
| 9 | LAGUNA | 511,084 | 1,571 | 1,562 | 180,409 | 220,924 | 83 | 904 | 127,327 | 257,366 | 14,745 |  | 1,595 |
| NF | SN. PABLO C. | 77,788 | 276 | ? | 27,187 | 87,902 | 12 | 186 | 15,706 | 42,452 | 1,689 |  | 208 |
| A | MARINDUQUE | 89,289 | 287 | 287 | 34,464 | 40,181 | 7 | 25 | 26,907 | 46,621 | 585 |  | 54 |
| A | OCC. MINDORO | 110,382 | 337 | 337 | 42,917 | 36,190 | 7 | 30 | 38,336 | 39,730 | 723 |  | 69 |
| A | OR. MINDORO | 201,895 | 657 | 657 | 21,060 | 87,142 | 7 | 28 | 46,220 | 110,278 | 1,889 |  | 111 |
| NF | PALAWAN | 157,136 | 519 | ? | 39,920 | 44,742 | 15 | 22 | 36,056 | 47,742 | 223 |  | 48 |
| NF | PRTO. PRINCESA CITY | 41,299 | 105 | ? | 16,349 | 15,380 | 1 | 11 | 15,776 | 15,554 | 250 |  | 31 |
| NF | QUEZON | 464,671 | 1,823 | ? | 136,312 | 225,672 | 40 | 378 | 88,349 | 266,549 | 3,880 |  | 148 |
| NF | LUCENA CITY | 61,991 | 209 | ? | 20,102 | 29,039 | 15 | 213 | 14,517 | 33,571 | 933 |  | 281 |
| 15 | RIZAL | 376,786 | 1,085 | 1,[illegible] | 130,335 | 160,661 | 36 | 651 | 135,976 | 137,269 | 14,891 |  | 828 |
| NF | ROMBLON | 85,222 | 304 | ? | 30,619 | 39,594 | 3 | 8 | 22,322 | 41,903 | 285 |  | 31 |
|  | TOTAL | 3,364,298 | 10,668 |  | 1,10[illegible],804 | 1,425,143 | 336 | 3,831 | 853,600 | 1,6[illegible]1,01[illegible] | 58,524 |  | 5,974 |

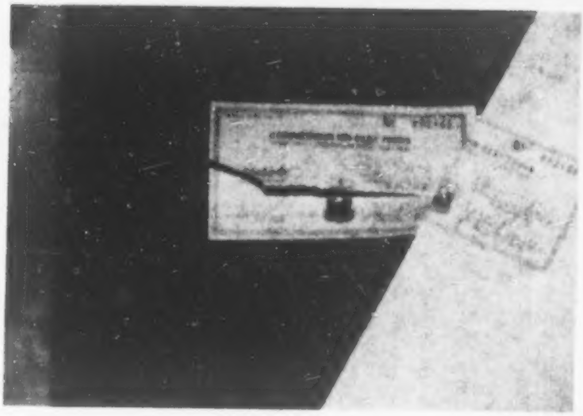
|  | REGION V PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE-PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OSMEÑA STUART (UNIDO) | A (M |
| NF | ALBAY | 296,882 | 1,095 | ? | 75354 | 159210 | 28 | 92 | 67735 | 153530 | 12291 |  | 1 |
| NF | LEGASPI CITY | 50,681 | 172 | ? | 16547 | 26900 | 4 | 29 | 15396 | 26463 | 1350 |  | 5 |
| 5 | CAMARINES NOR | 142,516 | 489 | 484 | 35698 | 73965 | 14 | 113 | 33679 | 75093 | 596 |  | 12 |
| 36 | CAMARINES SUR | 415,318 | 1,557 | 1521 | 110078 | 221907 |  |  | 90832 | 239889 | 1415 |  | 8 |
| NF | IRIGA CITY | 32,778 | 100 | ? | 9250 | 17758 | 0 | 8 | 8637 | 18263 | 115 |  | 8 |
| NF | NAGA CITY | 50,986 | 201 | ? | 10874 | 30090 | 7 | 28 | 9859 | 31876 | 290 |  | 3 |
| A | CATANDUANES | 72,110 | 362 | 362 | 33984 | 32342 | 5 | 6 | 33530 | 32090 | 875 |  | 1 |
| NF | MASBATE | 238,372 | 227 | ? | 72154 | 100223 | 167 | 18 | 66987 | 101555 | 1582 |  | 3 |
| Y | SORSOGON | [illegible] | 831 | 827 | 69970 | 92748 | 33 | 92 | 63305 | 95577 | 7131 |  | 16 |
|  | TOTAL | [illegible] | [illegible] |  | 433809 | 761538 | 258 | 376 | 398961 | 774336 | 25654 |  | 54 |

|  | REGION VI<br>PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OSMENA STUART (UNIDO) | ARIEN (MOTO |
| NF | AKLAN | 158,815 | 511 | ? | 63078 | 64473 | 10 | 24 | 60148 | 64708 | 2137 |  | 27 |
| NF | ANTIQUE | 168,904 | 774 |  | 65225 | 71694 | 23 | 15 | 52982 | 82351 | 987 |  | 25 |
| 6 | CAPIZ | 180,932 | 698 | 692 | 78130 | 64078 | 19 | 8 | 73891 | 65304 | 1600 |  | 21 |
| NF | ROXAS CITY | 44,570 | 154 | ? | 19016 | 17709 | 2 | 18 | 18134 | 17228 | 1138 |  | 29 |
| 49 | ILOILO | 581,797 | 2,337 | 2,289 | 244,617 | 235,029 | 108 | 49 | 195,815 | 238,083 | 22,409 |  | 52 |
| NF | ILOILO CITY | 147,632 | 516 | ? | 55282 | 63708 | 7 | 12 | 51619 | 59356 | 7850 |  | 31 |
| +1 | NEGROS D. NORTE | 174,034 | 585 | 586 | 65721 | 49703 | 14 | 9 | 71106 | 50289 | 3610 |  | 5 |
| NF | CADIZ CITY | 50,115 | 135 | ? | 36061 | 2690 |  |  | 29002 | 4820 | 39 |  |  |
| NF | SN. CARLOS C. | 37,944 | 134 | ? | 14554 | 14069 | 95 | 4 | 14690 | 13637 | 109 |  | 1 |
| A | SILAY CITY | 41,298 | 135 | 135 | 19448 | 13389 | 2 | 0 | 19311 | 13413 | 516 |  | 3 |
| 39 | NEGROS OCC. | 354,517 | 1,180 | 1141 | 156595 | 97292 | 90 | 51 | 145019 | 101145 | 5511 |  | 55 |
| A | BACOLOD CITY | 151,525 | 513 | 513 | 52951 | 55321 | 13 | 52 | 52522 | 55408 | 10077 |  | 100 |
| A | BAGO CITY | 42,993 | 131 | 131 | 22400 | 13195 | 0 | 0 | 21634 | 12798 | 759 |  |  |
| 26 | LA CARLOTA C. | 21,760 | 81 | 57 | 9504 | 4462 | 3 | 2 | 9043 | 4643 | 168 |  | 2 |
|  | TOTAL | 2,159,736 | 7 886 |  | 902,682<br>~~670065~~ | 777,312<br>~~542283~~ | 386<br>~~278~~ | 244<br>~~195~~ | 814,916<br>~~619101~~ | 783,183<br>~~545100~~ | 56,910<br>~~34501~~ |  | 351<br>~~299~~ |

|  | REGION VII<br>PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | [illegible] (UNIDO) | ARIEDID (MOTOR) |
| 4 • | BOHOL | 378,992 | 1,369 | 1,365 | 170,635 | 154,338 | 815 | 108 | 173,802 | 151,177 | 1,514 | 16 | 112 |
| NF • | TAGBILARAN C | 26,361 | 79 |  | 8,767 | 13,043 | 64 | 21 | 10,782 | 10,957 | 150 | 0 | 17 |
| 8 • | CEBU | 619,164 | 2,046 | 2,038 | 264,211 | 249,998 | 1,224 | 56 | 261,461 | 248,213 | 1,532 | 0 | 43 |
| NF • | CEBU CITY | 305,087 | 981 |  | 60,748 | 167,280 | 745 | 114 | 71,266 | 154,221 | 2,493 | 11 | 128 |
| NF • | DANAO CITY | 58,696 | 147 |  | 57,225 | 342 | 3 | 1 | 57,167 | 372 | 6 | 0 | 1 |
| A • | LAPU-LAPU C. | 53,161 | 134 | 134 | 22,374 | 21,416 | 56 | 6 | 22,596 | 20,887 | 122 | 0 | 4 |
| A • | MANDAUE CITY | 72,235 | 202 | 202 | 14,352 | 42,974 | 158 | 15 | 15,905 | 40,989 | 380 | 0 | 23 |
| A • | TOLEDO CITY | 45,298 | 130 | 130 | 14,652 | 20,671 | 79 | 1 | 14,970 | 20,051 | 97 | 0 | 2 |
| 18 • | NEGROS ORIENTAL | 314,806 | 1,052 | 1,034 | 113,402 | 110,187 | 656 | 30 | 113,500 | 107,334 | 987 | 0 | 41 |
| NF • | BAIS CITY | 24,879 | 80 |  | 9,080 | 9,257 | 38 | 7 | 9,200 | 9,035 | 18 | 0 | 4 |
| NF A • | CANLAON C. | 14,647 | 43 |  | 7,528 | 3,149 | 98 | 0 | 7,416 | 3,136 | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| • | DUMAGUETE C | 37,887 | 150 | 150 | 9,963 | 21,808 | 55 | 35 | 11,708 | 19,818 | 214 | 0 | 40 |
| NF • | SIQUIJOR | 37,428 | 149 |  | 20,667 | 13,449 | 21 | 0 | 20,659 | 13,375 | 27 | 0 | 2 |
|  | TOTAL | [illegible] | [illegible] |  | 773,604 | 827,912 | 4,012 | 394 | 790,432 | 799,565 | 7,571 | 27 | 417 |

| REGION VIII<br>PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | OSMENA STUART (UNIDO) | ARIEN (MOTOR |
| 61. EASTERN SAMAR | 134,528 | 651 | 590 | 43,680 | 53,764 | 4 | 3 | 41,577 | 52,482 | 2,627 |  | 1 |
| HF. LEYTE | 535,694 | 2,017 |  | 300,803 | 143,261 | 245 | 34 | 296,341 | 142,647 | 2,089 |  | 42 |
| +20 ORMOC CITY | 54,628 | 261 | 301 | 20,895 | 22,619 | 97 | 11 | 20,616 | 22,277 | 218 |  | 16 |
| AR TACLOBAN C. | 62,814 | 211 | 211 | 32,809 | 18,399 | 10 | 16 | 32,481 | 17,371 | 1,154 |  | 24 |
| 29. NORTHERN SAMAR | 165,909 | 679 | 650 | 62,882 | 50,964 | 4 | 15 | 55,675 | 52,448 | 4,675 |  | 19 |
| 38. SAMAR | 172,634 | 863 | 827 | 68,281 | 49,069 | 0 | 0 | 63,110 | 43,484 | 10,051 |  | 0 |
| HF. CALBAYOG C. | 48,697 | 206 |  | 24,584 | 15,950 | 2 | 0 | 24,228 | 15,255 | 907 |  | 4 |
| HF. SOUTHERN LEYTE | 150,919 | 718 |  | 73,934 | 57,258 | 113 | 134 | 72,620 | 57,696 | 210 |  | 4 |
| TOTAL | 1,325,813 | 5,346 |  | 627,868 | 411,284 | 475 | 213 | 606,648 | 403,660 | 21,931 |  | 110 |

|  | REGION IX PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | GANZON (UNIDO) | APIE (MOT |
| A |  | addl of precincts | ~~15~~ | 15 | 4,277 | 646 | 0 | 0 | 4,126 | 784 | 12 |  | 0 |
| 16• | BASILAN | 92,481 | 345 | 329 | 22,387 | 30,005 | 11 | 16 | 22,300 | 29,292 | 485 | 5 | 22 |
| 27• | SULU | 229,282 | 661 | 634 | 128,854 | 34,337 | 22 | 20 | 125,083 | 36,651 | 179 | 0 | 17 |
| A• | TAWI-TAWI | 79,723 | 287 | 287 | 65,096 | 11,339 | 9 | 5 | 59,875 | 12,175 | 552 | 2 | 4 |
| 48• | ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE | 218,102 | 805 | 757 | 94.509 | 53,221 | 953 | 29 | 91,862 | 54,177 | 393 | 0 | 45 |
| NF | DAPITAN CITY | 27,409 | 100 |  | 12,485 | 9,559 | 210 | 5 | 12,566 | 9,262 | 60 | 0 | 3 |
| 1• | DIPOLOG CITY | 34,417 | 132 | 131 | 11,894 | 15,658 | 157 | 7 | 12,623 | 14,651 | 205 | 0 | 12 |
| A• | ZAMBOANGA SUR | 370,741 | 1,336 | 1,336 | 138,116 | 123,075 | 2,041 | 116 | 133,126 | 125,044 | 1,166 | 70 | 77 |
| A• | PAGADIAN C. | 43,554 | 157 | 157 | 14,009 | 17,219 | 259 | 2 | 14,258 | 16,636 | 205 | 0 | 12 |
| A• | ZAMBOANGA C. | 183,440 | 587 | 587 | 48,943 | 70,136 | 24 | 305 | 55,638 | 60,830 | 1,935 | 9 | 371 |
|  | TOTAL | 1 279,148 | 4 410 |  | 540,570<br>~~536,293~~ | 365,195<br>~~361,549~~ | 3,686<br>~~3,686~~ | 505<br>~~505~~ | 531,457<br>~~527,331~~ | 359,502<br>~~358,718~~ | 8,192<br>~~5,180~~ | 86<br>~~86~~ |  |



* 70% of [illegible] seals does not tally with the [illegible] returns form

ELECTION RETURNS
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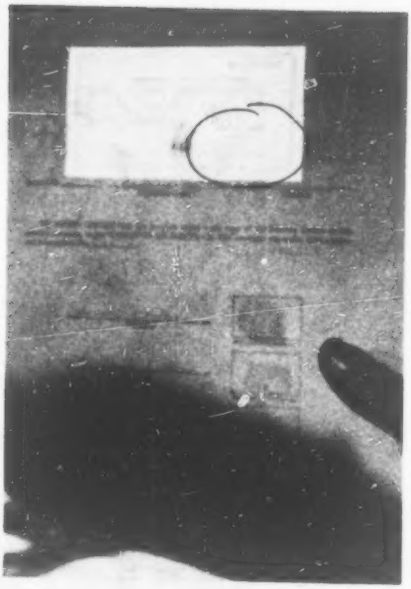
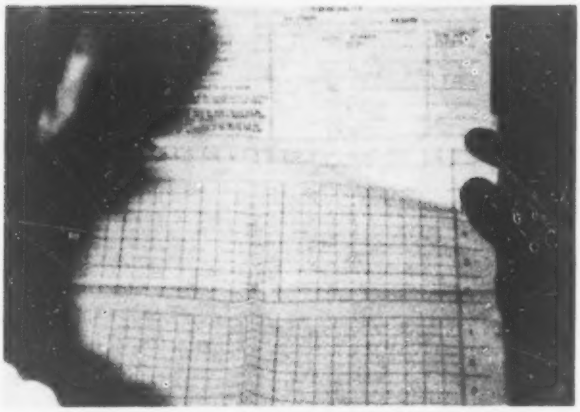
ELECTION RETURNS
TALLIES

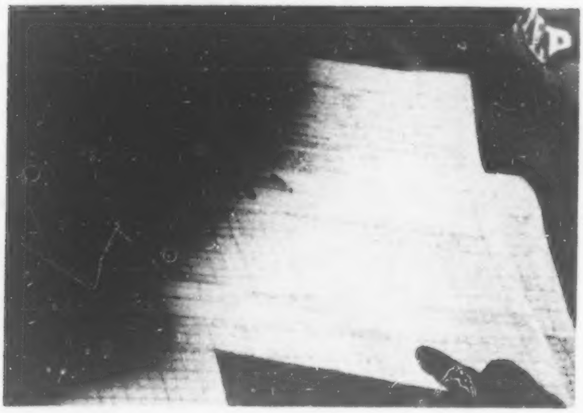
DEFECTIVE ELECTION RETURNS:
NO SIGNATURE
NO THUMBMARK



DEFECTIVE ELECTION RETURNS
ENVELOPES:
NO SIGNATURE OR SEAL.
NO THUMBMARK OF
UNIDO INSPECTORS



* ELECTION RETURNS IS THE COMELEC COPY: 10-15% OF CANVASSED (PROVINCIAL) ELECTION RETURNS ARE COMELEC COPY.



← NO THUMBMARK : NO SIGNATURE : NOT OFFICIAL COPY.

|  | REGION X<br>PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | [illegible] CANTON (UNIDO) | ARIENDA (MOTOR) |
| 20 | AGUSAN DEL NOR. | 102,132 | 304 | 284 | 45,[illegible]7 | 32,928 | 209 | 10 | 44,828 | 33,018 | 318 | 0 | 18 |
| A | BUTUAN CITY | 102,569 | 291 | 291 | 33,866 | 40,660 | 533 | 23 | 34,339 | 39,223 | 990 | 0 | 23 |
| A | AGUSAN DEL SUR | 137,939 | 467 | 467 | 58,375 | 43,436 | 996 | 14 | 56,988 | 43,944 | 340 | 0 | 55 |
| 12 | BUKIDNON | 309,046 | 928 | 916 | 115,176 | 113,224 | 2,506 | 46 | 113,085 | 113,693 | 1,316 | 37 | 41 |
| NF | CAMIGUIN | 30,434 | 91 |  | 11,140 | 15,487 | 97 | 2 | 10,600 | 15,299 | 674 | 1 | 3 |
| 3 | MISAMIS OCC. | 113,845 | 450 | 447 | 51,758 | 41,470 | 526 | 8 | 50,573 | 41,842 | 346 | 0 | 11 |
| NF | OROQUIETA C. | 25,466 | 90 |  | 8,812 | 12,919 | 175 | 6 | 8,782 | 12,843 | 84 | 0 | 5 |
| NF | OZAMIZ CITY | 45,023 | 136 |  | 12,978 | 21,925 | 221 | 13 | 10,161 | 24,571 | 176 | 0 | 18 |
| A | TANGUB CITY | 19,210 | 70 | 70 | 5,130 | 11,302 | 39 | 2 | 5,122 | 11,250 | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| NF | MISAMIS OR. | 186,717 | 573 |  | 81,962 | 60,889 | 1,595 | 49 | 79,101 | 61,204 | 798 | 0 | 49 |
| 126 | CAGAYAN DE ORO CITY | 149,116 | 404 | 278 | 31,336 | 43,377 | 1,104 | 40 | 33,941 | 40,372 | 1,032 | 0 | 58 |
| NR | GINGOOG CITY | 39,238 | 152 |  | 17,967 | 13,818 | 102 | 0 | 17,447 | 13,926 | 77 | 0 | 2 |
| NF | SURIGAO NORTE | 149,801 | 530 |  | 76,541 | 47,202 | 71 | 7 | 74,454 | 48,119 | 547 | 0 | 9 |
| A | SURIGAO CITY | 45,245 | 146 | 146 | 12,919 | 21,204 | 70 | 3 | 13,107 | 20,198 | 735 | 0 | 8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | TOTAL | 1,4[illegible]01 | [illegible]632 |  | 563,547 | 519,841 | 8,244 | 223 | 552,528 | 519,502 | 7,451 | 38 | 30[illegible] |

|  | REGION XI PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | [illegible] (UNIDO) | ARIEN. [illegible] |
| 8 | DAVAO DEL NORTE | 415,005 | 1,198 | 1,190 | 168,720 | 142,607 | 5,386 | 82 | 162,444 | 147,857 | 2,454 | 116 | 167 |
| A | DAVAO ORIENTAL | 164,233 | 497 | 497 | 45,489 | 69,423 | 1,430 | 49 | 43,188 | 70,938 | 1,145 | 0 | 73 |
| 4 | DAVAO D. SUR | 243,633 | 716 | 712 | 106,299 | 77,160 | 1,630 | 43 | 103,820 | 77,337 | 1,383 | 32 | 129 |
| 5 | DAVAO CITY | 361,636 | 1,075 | 1,070 | 120,314 | 142,828 | 4,026 | 311 | 128,435 | 127,955 | 7,579 | 0 | 514 |
| 33 | SOUTH COTABATO | 283,175 | 866 | 833 | 88,091 | 115,629 | 489 | 141 | 81,715 | 103,449 | 18,892 | 0 | 449 |
| A | GEN. SANTOS C. | 99,113 | 253 | 253 | 22,131 | 37,158 | 88 | 104 | 21,796 | 31,208 | 5,798 | 0 | [illegible] |
| 5 | SURIGAO D. SUR | 136,984 | 573 | 568 | 58,496 | 77,994 | 364 | 43 | 58,064 | 76,957 | 389 | 0 | 99 |
|  | TOTAL | 1,75[illegible] | [illegible]178 |  | 609,540 | 662,799 | 13,413 | 773 | 599,462 | 635,701 | 37,640 | 148 | 1,[illegible] |

HF
G
HP
HF
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A
J
A

| REGION XII PROVINCE/CITY | REG. NO. OF VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINCTS | NO. OF PRECINCTS CANVASSED | PRESIDENT |  |  |  | VICE PRESIDENT |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  | MARCOS (KBL) | AQUINO (UNIDO) | CANOY (SDP) | PADILLA (MOTOR) | TOLENTINO (KBL) | LAUREL (UNIDO) | KALAW (LP) | [redacted] CANTON (UNIDO) | ARIENDA (MOTO |
| LANAO DEL NORTE | 189,791 | 649 |  | 100,383 | 44,070 | 422 | 22 | 94,619 | 46,890 | 297 | 0 | 37 |
| ILIGAN CITY | 95,602 | 279 | 279 | 24,965 | 44,040 | 820 | 57 | 29,890 | 38,756 | 579 | 0 | 111 |
| LANAO DEL SUR | 242,164 | 1,357 |  | 191,755 | 28,676 | 14 | 1 | 159,339 | 54,226 | 356 | 19 | 17 |
| MARAWI CITY | 39,454 | 154 |  | 16,205 | 10,829 | 17 | 23 | 14,456 | 12,255 | 114 |  | 32 |
| MAGUINDANAO | 332,575 | 928 | 859 | 182,320 | 57,864 | 108 | 56 | 157,944 | 70,162 | 3,989 | 154 | 138 |
| COTABATO C. | 49,044 | 150 | 150 | 8,803 | 18,931 | 13 | 12 | 10,111 | 16,930 | 565 | 0 | 61 |
| NORTH COTABATO | 283,009 | 873 | 868 | 83,869 | 100,515 | 293 | 139 | 81,789 | 97,645 | 2,956 | 0 | 409 |
| SULTAN KUDARAT | 141,622 | 419 | 419 | 53,949 | 41,405 | 114 | 48 | 52,872 | 38,731 | 3,368 | 0 | 136 |
| TOTAL | 1,373,261 | [illegible] |  | [illegible] | 346,330 | 1,801 | 358 | 601,020 | 375,595 | 12,224 | 173 | 941 |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N C R | | | | | | | |
| MANILA * | No seal | | | | | | |
| QUEZON CITY * | | | | | | Erasures | |
| CALOOCAN CITY * | No signature of UNIDO Rep.on seal | | | | Not specified | | Place of origin not specified. |
| PASAY CITY * | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | | | |
| PASIG/MARIKINA* | | | | Questioned | | | |
| LAS PIÑAS/PARAÑAQUE * | No seal | | | | | | |
| MAKATI * | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | | | Certificate of Canvass not signed by UNIDO Rep. |
| MALABON/NAVOTAS/ VALENZUELA * | | | | | Incomplete | | Place of origin not specif<br>Board to submit election returns of 38 precincts |
| SAN JUAN/MANDALUYONG * | No seal | | | | | | |
| TAGUIG/PATEROS/MUNTINGLUPA * | | No signature of KBL rep. | | | | | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION I | | | | | | | |
| ABRA * | No seal | | Questioned | Questioned | | | |
| BENGUET * | No seal | | | | | | |
| BAGUIO CITY * | Not properly sealed | | Erasures & alterations | | | | |
| ILOCOS NORTE * | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | No. of precincts exceeds COMELEC figure | | |
| LAOAG CITY * | No seal | | | Questioned | | | |
| ILOCOS SUR * | Green masking tape | | | | Not specified | Alterations | Place not specified. UNIDO copy does not contai names of 3 Board Members; original signatures of Members in UNIDO copy. |
| LA UNION * | No seal | | | Questioned | | Alterations | |
| MT. PROVINCE * | | | | | Incomplete | | Discrepancies in signature of the Members of Board of Canvassers with KBL copy. |
| PANGASINAN * | Not properly sealed | | | | | | |
| DAGUPAN CITY * | No seal | | | | Not specified | | Place of origin not specified. |
| SAN CARLOS CITY | | UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized | | | | | |

## OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION II | | | | | | | |
| BATANES * | | | | | Not specified | Erasures | |
| CAGAYAN * | | | Questioned | | Incomplete | Erasures | Secure COMELEC copy of Certificate of Canvass. |
| IFUGAO * | No seal | | | | Not specified | | |
| ISABELA * | No official seal | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | Not specified | | Place not specified |
| KALINGA-APAYAO * | No seal & not properly folded | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | Not specified | | |
| NUEVA VIZCAYA * | Not properly sealed | | | | | | |
| QUIRINO * | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | | Erasures/alterations | COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass. |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION III | | | | | | | |
| BATAAN * | | | | | Incomplete | | COMELEC to submit copy Certificate of Canvass. |
| BULACAN * | | | | | | | |
| NUEVA ECIJA * | | | | | | Alterations | |
| CABANATUAN CITY * | No official seal & not properly folded | | | | | Erasures | |
| PALAYAN CITY * | Improvised seal used | | | | | Superimpositions | |
| SAN JOSE CITY * | Not properly sealed | | | | | | |
| PAMPANGA * | | | | | | Erasures | COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass. |
| ANGELES CITY * | No seal | | | | | Erasures/ alterations | |
| TARLAC | No official seal | No signature & thumbmark of UNIDO Rep. | | | Incomplete returns | | Subject of pre-proclamatio protest with COMELEC. |
| ZAMBALES * | | | | | No election returns in 2 precincts | | |
| OLONGAPO CITY * | No seal & not properly folded | | | | Not specified | Superimpositions | |

## OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION IV | | | | | | | |
| AURORA * | No seal | | | | Incomplete | Erasures | |
| BATANGAS * | No seal | | | | | Erasures & alterations | |
| BATANGAS CITY * | No seal | | | | Not specified | | |
| LIPA CITY * | Improvised seal | | Questioned | | Ihcompete returns for some candidates | | |
| CAVITE * | | | | | | Superimpositions | UNIDO Rep. refused to sign & submitted appeal to Speaker for exclusion of certain precincts. |
| CAVITE CITY * | No seal & not properly folded | | | | | Superimpositions | Subject of an appeal to COMELEC. |
| TAGAYTAY CITY *... | No seal | | | | | Alterations on supporting documents | |
| TRECE MARTIRES CITY* | | UNIDO Rep. did not sign certificate | | | | | |
| LAGUNA * | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | Incomplete | | Board of Canvasser to submit missing returns. |
| SAN PABLO CITY * | No seal | | | | | | |
| MARINDUQUE | | | | | | | |

## OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION IV (CONT.) | | | | | | | |
| OCCIDENTAL MINDORO * | No seal | | | | | Superimpositions. | |
| ORIENTAL MINDORO * | No seal & not properly folded | | | | | | |
| PALAWAN * | | | | | | Superimpositions | |
| PTO. PRINCESA CITY * | No seal | | | | | | |
| QUEZON * | | | | | | Superimpositions | |
| LUCENA CITY * | No seal | | | | | Superimpositions on entries for UNIDO candidates | |
| RIZAL * | Not properly sealed | | | | | | Signatures of Members of Board of Canvassers appear not to be genuine. |
| ROMBLON * | | | | | | Alterations | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY * | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION V | | | | | | | |
| ALBAY * | No seal | | | | | | |
| LEGASPI CITY * | No seal | | | | Not specified | | Place of origin not specified. |
| CAMARINES NORTE * | | | | | Incomplete | Alterations | COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canvass. |
| CAMARINES SUR * | | | | | | Superimpositions | Secure COMELEC copy of Certificate of Canvass, |
| IRIGA CITY * | No seal & not properly folded | | | | Not specified | | Place not specified. |
| NAGA CITY * | | | | | Not specified | | Signatures of Board of Cânvassers Members not genuine. |
| CATANDUANES | | | | | | | |
| MASBATE * | No seal | | | | | | |
| SORSOGON * | Not sealed | | | | | | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION VI | | | | | | | |
| AKLAN * | | | | | Not specified | Erasures | |
| ANTIQUE * | | | | | | | Signatures not genuine. |
| CAPIZ * | No seal | | | | Not complete | | Manifested general objections. |
| ROXAS CITY * | Not sealed | | | | | Corrections on entries for Laurel | |
| ILOILO * | No seal | | | | | Superimpositions | |
| ILOILO CITY * | | | | | Not specified | Insertions | Place not specified. |
| NEGROS DEL NORTE * | | UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized | | | | | |
| CADIZ CITY * | No seal | UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized | | | Not specified | | Place not specified. |
| SAN CARLOS CITY * | No seal | | | | Not specified | | Place of origin not specified. |
| SILAY CITY * | No seal | UNIDO Rep. not authorized | | | | | |
| NEGROS OCCIDENTAL * | No seal | | | | Incomplete | | Board of Canvassers to submit missing returns. |
| [illegible] | | | Signature of members of Board of Canvassers. | | | | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION VI (CONT.) | | | | | | | |
| BACOLOD CITY | No seal | | | - | Incomplete returns for some candidates | | |
| LA CARLOTA CITY | | | | - | Incomplete returns | Tampering | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION VII | | | | | | | |
| BOHOL* | | | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit electi returns of other precin |
| TAGBILARAN CITY* | No seal & not properly folded | | | | Not specified | | Place of origin not specified |
| CEBU* | Not properly sealed & folded | | | | Returns in 8 precincts missing | | Board to submit missing returns |
| CEBU CITY* | | | | | Not specified | | |
| DANAO CITY | Improvised seal | UNIDO rep. did not participate | | | | | Place of origin not specified. Votes tallied exceed population. |
| LAPU-LAPU CITY* | No seal | | | | Only 123 precints reported | | |
| MANDAUE CITY* | No seal | | | | | | Signature of Members of Board appears not genuine |
| TOLEDO CITY* | No seal | | | | | | |
| NEGROS ORIENTAL* | | | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit missing returns |
| BAIS CITY* | No seal | | | | | | |
| CANLAON CITY* | | | | | Not specified | Erasures | Place of origin not specified |
| DUMAGUETE CITY* | Improvised seal | | | | | | |
| SIQUIJOR* | No seal | | | | Not specified | | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL* | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REGION VIII | | | | | | | |
| EASTERN SAMAR* | Improvised seal | | | | | | Improvised Certific of Canvass |
| LEYTE* | | | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit retu from missing precint |
| ORMOC CITY* | No seal | | | | Not specified | | Not properly prepared |
| TACLOBAN CITY* | Not properly sealed | | | | | Erasures & alterations | |
| NORTHERN SAMAR* | | | | | Returns in 29 precints not included | | Board to submit missi returns |
| SAMAR* | No seal | | | | Incomplete | Erasures | Board to submit miss returns |
| CALBAYOG CITY* | No seal | No signature of UNIDO Rep. | | | | | Place of origin not specified |
| SOUTHERN LEYTE* | | No signature of UNIDO Rep. | | | Not specified | | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ION IX | | | | | | | |
| BASILAN* | No seal | No signature of UNIDO Rep. | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit mi returns |
| SULU* | No seal & not properly folded | | | Questioned | Incomplete | | UNIDO Rep. signed ce ficate under protes |
| TAWI-TAWI* | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | | | |
| ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE* | | | | | | Superimpositions | Doubt on genuiness of signatures of Members of Board of Canvassers |
| DAPITAN CITY* | | No signature of UNIDO rep | | | Not specified | Erasures | |
| DIPOLOG CITY* | | | | | | | |
| ZAMBOANGA SUR* | No signature on seal | | Questioned | | | | |
| PAGADIAN CITY* | | | | | | Alterations in votes for Aquino | COMELEC to submit copy of Certificate of Canv |
| ZAMBOANGA CITY* | | | | | | Superimpositions | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EGION X | | | | | | | |
| AGUSAN DEL NORTE* | | | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit missi returns |
| BUTUAN CITY* | No seal | | | | | | |
| AGUSAN DEL SUR* | | | | Questioned | | | |
| BUKIDNON* | | | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit missi returns |
| CAMIGUIN* | | | | | Not specified | | |
| MISAMIS OCC.* | No seal | UNIDO Rep. not duly authorized | | | | | |
| OROQUIETA CITY* | No seal | | | | | | |
| OZAMIZ CITY* | No seal | | | | | | |
| TANGUB CITY* | Improvised seal | | | | | | |
| MISAMIS ORIENTAL* | No seal | | | | | | |
| CAGAYAN DE ORO C.* | Improvised seal | | | | Incomplete returns | | |
| GINGOOG CITY* | No seal | | Questioned | | | | |
| SURIGAO NORTE* | | | | | | | Illegality of canvass proceedings, protest with COMELEC |
| SURIGAO CITY* | No seal & not properly folded | | | | | | |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GION XI | | | | | | | |
| DAVAO DEL NORTE* | No seal | | | | | | |
| DAVAO ORIENTAL* | | | KBL representative signature | | | Alterations | COMELECT to submit c of Certificate of Can |
| DAVAO DEL SUR* | Not properly sealed | | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit missin returns |
| DAVAO CITY* | | | | | | Erasures in votes of KBL candidates | COMELEC to submit cop of Certificate of Can |
| SOUTH COTABATO* | | | | | | | Reservation on genuin of signature of Board Members |
| GEN. SANTOS CITY* | Not properly sealed | | | | | Erasures | |
| SURIGAO DEL SUR* | | | | | | | Discrepancies in signa ture of the Members o Board of Canvassers wi KBL copy |

OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTS

| PROVINCES/CITIES | SEAL | SIGNATURE OF PARTY REP. | AUTHENTICITY | STATISTICAL PROBABILITY | PRECINCTS REPORTED | ERASURES/ ALTERATIONS | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ION XII | | | | | | | |
| LANAO DEL NORTE* | | | | | Not specified | | Dissenting opinion of UNIDO Rep. attached |
| ILIGAN CITY* | No seal & not properly folded | | | | | | |
| LANAO DEL SUR* | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | | Alterations | |
| MARAWI CITY* | Not properly folded | | | | | Erasures | Place not specified |
| MAGUINDANAO* | | No signature of UNIDO rep. | | | Incomplete | | Board to submit missing returns |
| COTABATO CITY* | | | | | | Erasures in names of KBL rep. | |
| NORTH COTABATO* | No seal & not properly folded | | | | | | No signature of Board of Canvasser Chairman |
| SULTAN KUDARAT* | | | | | | | UNIDO Rep. signed certificate under protes |

(Exhibit X)

## THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICIAL CANVASS OF VOTES CONDUCTED BY THE BATASANG PAMBANSA RELEASED UNDER RESOLUTION NUMBER 799 "PROCLAIMING FERDINAND E. MARCOS & ARTURO M. TOLENTINO AS THE DULY ELECTED PRESIDENT & VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, RESPECTIVELY"

The Center for Democracy's analysis of the official Canvass of Votes conducted by the Batasang Pambansa (Philippines Parliament), following the February 7, 1986 presidential election, reviews the thouroughness and accuracy of the proceedures employed by that body in tabulating the country's precincts.

The Batasan canvassed votes by provinces and cities, with tallies supposedly certified by election registrars at that level. In a number of these official tallies, the Batasan failed to account for the exact number of precincts within a province or city (Columns A, B & C). This lead to under-counting or, in some instances, even over-counting. In numerous cases, the certified Batasan national tally did not indicate any figure whatsoever for the precincts tallied that could be matched with the official number of precincts for that province or city.

Of the 138 provinces and cities (broken down in the Batasan's count and in this analysis by the country's thirteen voting regions: I-XII and the National Capitol Region), only in 38 were all the precincts tabulated exactly. In 47, there were significant precinct ommissions or additions, and in 53 no precinct figures were provided.

Under the circumstances, the Batasan figures do not meet the requirements set out in the Philippine Electoral Code (BATAS PAMBANSA BLG 881; Art. 2, Sec. 15). In this analysis, the official Batasan Canvass of Votes must be regarded as less reliable than the NAMFREL exact tally based on signed precinct returns from 75-80% of the country's precincts.

COLUMN

| | |
|---|---|
| A: | Total number of precincts not tabulated for cited region in official Batasan count. |
| B: | Total number of precincts tabulated in excess of stated number of precincts for cited region in official Batasan count. |
| C: | Total number of provinces and cities involved in columns A & B. |
| D: | Total number of provinces and cities with no precinct figures tabulated in official Batasan count. |
| E: | Total number of provinces and cities with all precincts tabulated accurately in official Batasan count. |

| REGION | A | B | C | D | E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NCR | -164 | -- | 6 | 2 | 2 |
| I | -52 | +137 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| II | -40 | -- | 3 | 4 | -- |
| III | -119 | -- | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| IV | -28 | +3 | 3 | 10 | 6 |
| V | -45 | -- | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| VI | -119 | +1 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| VII | -30 | -- | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| VIII | -128 | +20 | 4 | 3 | -- |
| IX | -92 | -- | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| X | -161 | -- | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| XI | -51 | -- | 4 | -- | 2 |
| XII | -74 | -- | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| TOTALS | -1,103 | +161 | 47 | 53 | 38 |

## VOTE TALLY DISCREPANCIES
## COMPARISON OF NAMFREL TALLIES
## AND OFFICIAL BATASAN CANVASS
## FEBRUARY 7, 1986 PHILIPPINE ELECTION

| PROVINCE | NAMFREL | | | BATASAN 99% TALLIED | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % TALLIED | MARCOS | AQUINO | MARCOS | AQUINO |
| Ilocos Norte | 29% | 59,771 | 1,939 | 189,897 | 718 |
| Isabela | 19% | 58,012 | 26,443 | 402,860 | 20,072 |
| Misamis Occ | 54% | 24,292 | 43,002 | 51,758 | 41,470 |
| Iloilo City | 100% | 55,735 | 64,889 | 55,282 | 63,708 |
| Bacolod City | 100% | 54,464 | 67,293 | 52,951 | 65,231 |
| Lanao Norte | 60% | 36,373 | 52,793 | 100,383 | 44,070 |
| Ifugao | 48% | 7,447 | 11,378 | 4,742 | 6,600 |
| Naga City | 100% | 11,029 | 30,080 | 10,874 | 30,080 |

## LOSS OF VOTES: PARTIAL COMPARISON OF NAMFREL AND BATASAN TALLIES BY CANDIDATE FOR LISTED PROVINCES AND CITIES

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| Ilocos Norte | | -1,221 |
| Isabela | | -6,371 |
| Misamis Occ | | -1,532 |
| Iloilo City | -453 | -1,181 |
| Bacolod City | -1,513 | -2,062 |
| Lanao Norte | | -8,723 |
| Ifuago | -2,705 | -4,778 |
| Naga City | -155 | |
| NET LOSS: | -4,826 | -25,877 |

AS OF ____________________________

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
REGIONAL TALLY

| REGION | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N C R | 4,268,820 | 12,323 | 1,313,750 | 1,541,725 | 1,333,817 | 1,297,451 | 232,346 | 11,421 | 92.7% | 66.9% |
| REGION 01 | 1,949,239 | 6,480 | 717,958 | 346,715 | 668,336 | 309,654 | 82,004 | 4,159 | 64.2% | 54.6% |
| REGION 02 | 1,188,066 | 4,007 | 202,713 | 106,727 | 191,051 | 110,052 | 6,143 | 1,241 | 31.0% | 26.0% |
| REGION 03 | 2,550,935 | 7,901 | 719,355 | 858,249 | 706,737 | 773,142 | 95,136 | 6,157 | 77.9% | 61.8% |
| REGION 04 | 3,364,298 | 10,668 | 944,107 | 1,157,493 | 681,882 | 1,355,665 | 57,437 | 8,185 | 76.7% | 62.5% |
| REGION 05 | 1,513,203 | 5,634 | 369,134 | 652,837 | 335,856 | 659,744 | 29,499 | 4,621 | 82.0% | 67.5% |
| REGION 06 | 2,159,736 | 7,886 | 580,514 | 576,809 | 534,441 | 565,662 | 57,674 | 5,217 | 66.2% | 53.6% |
| REGION 07 | 1,988,641 | 6,562 | 569,900 | 729,244 | 586,721 | 700,357 | 9,194 | 5,324 | 81.1% | 65.3% |
| REGION 08 | 1,325,813 | 5,449 | 466,372 | 331,951 | 461,080 | 324,602 | 19,929 | 3,910 | 71.8% | 60.2% |
| REGION 09 | 1,233,129 | 4,410 | 266,076 | 274,897 | 269,211 | 264,449 | 4,735 | 2,661 | 60.3% | 43.9% |
| REGION 10 | 1,455,801 | 4,632 | 474,623 | 480,737 | 470,552 | 477,209 | 9,619 | 3,830 | 82.7% | 65.6% |
| REGION 11 | 1,753,779 | 5,178 | 529,056 | 609,804 | 520,959 | 579,535 | 36,025 | 4,537 | 87.6% | 64.9% |
| REGION 12 | 1,373,261 | 4,809 | 223,041 | 242,132 | 218,059 | 231,048 | 8,356 | 2,147 | 44.6% | 33.9% |
| GRAND TOTAL | 26,124,721 | 85,939 | 7,376,599 | 7,909,320 | 6,978,702 | 7,648,570 | 648,097 | 63,410 | 73.8% | 58.5% |

(Exhibit Y)

## NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
## PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***NCR*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| MANILA | 1,039,466 | 3,549 | 373,828 | 389,723 | 387,823 | 308,381 | 64,456 | 3,415 | 96.2% | 73.5% |
| QUEZON CITY | 856,358 | 2,283 | 281,125 | 343,780 | 292,797 | 283,973 | 41,419 | 2,242 | 98.2% | 73.0% |
| CALOOCAN CITY | 326,806 | 923 | 106,511 | 106,866 | 107,804 | 91,746 | 13,105 | 837 | 90.7% | 65.3% |
| PASAY CITY | 208,623 | 615 | 76,037 | 72,956 | 74,403 | 69,634 | 26,398 | 607 | 98.7% | 71.4% |
| PASIG | 187,297 | 529 | 52,223 | 77,742 | 54,064 | 66,309 | 8,890 | 510 | 96.4% | 69.4% |
| MARIKINA | 144,388 | 413 | 42,118 | 70,679 | 46,323 | 55,645 | 10,684 | 413 | 100.0% | 78.1% |
| LAS PINAS | 118,846 | 304 | 34,644 | 45,531 | 34,920 | 41,252 | 3,646 | 303 | 99.7% | 67.5% |
| PARANAQUE | 165,946 | 451 | 44,950 | 72,985 | 46,337 | 65,784 | 5,708 | 450 | 99.8% | 71.1% |
| MAKATI | 350,789 | 846 | 62,927 | 53,928 | 61,243 | 49,314 | 6,118 | 463 | 54.7% | 33.3% |
| MALABON | 136,183 | 408 | 42,489 | 52,131 | 42,985 | 44,931 | 6,069 | 404 | 99.0% | 69.5% |
| NAVOTAS | 101,689 | 279 | 24,077 | 27,506 | 24,147 | 23,272 | 4,165 | 244 | 87.5% | 50.7% |
| VALENZUELA | 140,861 | 415 | 45,485 | 64,023 | 47,544 | 55,062 | 6,410 | 404 | 97.3% | 77.7% |
| SAN JUAN | 96,049 | 260 | 31,609 | 35,662 | 20,852 | 25,357 | 20,963 | 261 | 100.4% | 70.0% |
| MANDALUYONG | 148,559 | 414 | 39,370 | 54,868 | 37,356 | 48,341 | 8,578 | 393 | 94.9% | 63.4% |
| TAGUIG | 102,967 | 263 | 33,556 | 40,063 | 32,711 | 37,190 | 3,470 | 263 | 100.0% | 71.5% |
| PATEROS | 21,487 | 77 | 5,446 | 7,852 | 5,606 | 7,064 | 598 | 54 | 70.1% | 61.9% |
| MUNTINLUPA | 122,506 | 294 | 17,355 | 25,430 | 16,902 | 24,196 | 1,670 | 158 | 53.7% | 34.9% |
| SUB-TOTAL, NCR | 4,268,820 | 12,323 | 1,313,750 | 1,541,725 | 1,333,817 | 1,297,451 | 232,346 | 11,421 | 92.7% | 66.9% |

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 01*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| ABRA | 87,366 | 340 | 26,623 | 3,065 | 26,084 | 3,433 | 133 | 116 | 34.1% | 34.0% |
| BENGUET | 115,154 | 379 | 32,970 | 37,699 | 33,984 | 34,475 | 1,784 | 279 | 73.6% | 61.4% |
| BAGUIO CITY | 86,158 | 243 | 35,151 | 20,684 | 34,454 | 18,791 | 2,625 | 204 | 84.0% | 64.8% |
| ILOCOS NORTE | 197,983 | 624 | 21,934 | 271 | 21,597 | 467 | 64 | 71 | 11.4% | 11.2% |
| LADAG | 45,775 | 136 | 20,707 | 803 | 20,126 | 1,082 | 487 | 71 | 52.2% | 47.0% |
| ILOCOS SUR | 247,587 | 960 | 125,686 | 21,474 | 120,795 | 25,379 | 651 | 635 | 66.1% | 59.4% |
| LA UNION | 264,103 | 791 | 94,190 | 14,085 | 90,462 | 16,233 | 1,236 | 361 | 45.6% | 41.0% |
| MT. PROVINCE | 46,245 | 171 | 4,763 | 6,657 | 4,654 | 6,406 | 242 | 62 | 36.3% | 24.7% |
| PANGASINAN | 757,935 | 2,455 | 320,472 | 203,492 | 286,278 | 175,357 | 58,955 | 2,023 | 82.4% | 69.1% |
| BAGUPAN CITY | 53,992 | 230 | 20,011 | 22,447 | 17,010 | 15,544 | 9,929 | 213 | 92.6% | 78.6% |
| SAN CARLOS CITY | 46,941 | 151 | 15,451 | 16,038 | 12,892 | 12,487 | 5,898 | 124 | 82.1% | 67.1% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 01 | 1,949,239 | 6,480 | 717,958 | 346,715 | 668,336 | 309,654 | 82,004 | 4,159 | 64.2% | 54.6% |

## N A M F R E L   OPERATION QUICK COUNT
## PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 02*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| BATANES | 7,022 | 34 | 2,477 | 2,141 | 2,475 | 2,223 | 17 | 28 | 82.4% | 65.8% |
| CAGAYAN | 388,976 | 1,121 | 70,290 | 17,397 | 69,075 | 17,805 | 415 | 337 | 30.1% | 22.5% |
| TUGUEGARAO | | 119 | 8,132 | 4,392 | 8,615 | 4,240 | 310 | 43 | 36.1% | ERR |
| IFUGAO | 51,326 | 192 | 5,835 | 7,135 | 4,687 | 6,899 | 588 | 57 | 29.7% | 25.3% |
| ISABELA | 459,837 | 1,521 | 53,116 | 24,899 | 50,310 | 26,579 | 344 | 285 | 18.7% | 17.0% |
| KALINGA-APAYAO | 99,285 | 348 | 14,758 | 9,136 | 12,708 | 8,034 | 2,978 | 108 | 31.0% | 24.1% |
| NUEVA VISCAYA | 133,259 | 510 | 47,449 | 40,917 | 42,620 | 43,483 | 1,480 | 377 | 73.9% | 66.3% |
| QUIRINO | 48,361 | 162 | 656 | 710 | 561 | 789 | 11 | 6 | 3.7% | 2.8% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 02 | 1,188,066 | 4,007 | 202,713 | 106,727 | 191,051 | 110,052 | 6,143 | 1,241 | 31.0% | 26.0% |

## NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
## PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 03*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| BATAAN | 185,380 | 566 | 60,959 | 59,944 | 58,375 | 56,635 | 5,266 | 489 | 86.4% | 65.2% |
| BULACAN | 630,024 | 1,823 | 196,191 | 251,265 | 195,782 | 217,656 | 32,941 | 1,647 | 90.3% | 71.0% |
| NUEVA ECIJA | 430,376 | 1,447 | 122,515 | 89,192 | 116,791 | 89,042 | 4,795 | 892 | 61.6% | 49.1% |
| CABANATUAN CITY | 76,486- | 231 | 25,478 | 18,649 | 25,449 | 19,033 | 1,281 | 167 | 72.3% | 59.0% |
| PALAYAN CITY | 9,854 | 36 | 2,555 | 799 | 2,318 | 999 | 31 | 12 | 33.3% | 34.0% |
| SAN JOSE CITY | 37,385 | 114 | 14,697 | 8,586 | 13,563 | 7,716 | 1,997 | 77 | 67.5% | 62.3% |
| PAMPANGA | 460,307 | 1,421 | 112,737 | 244,646 | 113,793 | 209,712 | 31,824 | 1,388 | 97.7% | 77.6% |
| ANGELES CITY | 98,044 | 343 | 19,976 | 50,124 | 21,001 | 38,750 | 10,040 | 344 | 100.3% | 71.5% |
| TARLAC | 353,414 | 776 | 25,383 | 18,430 | 24,282 | 17,565 | 1,826 | 155 | 20.0% | 12.4% |
| TARLAC-TARLAC | | 291 | 24,287 | 41,954 | 23,387 | 39,390 | 2,745 | 247 | 84.9% | ERR |
| ZAMBALES | 159,821 | 518 | 73,608 | 45,923 | 71,271 | 48,203 | 1,467 | 456 | 88.0% | 74.8% |
| OLONGAPO CITY | 108,844 | 335 | 39,969 | 29,737 | 40,225 | 28,441 | 923 | 283 | 84.5% | 63.1% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 03 | 2,550,935 | 7,901 | 719,355 | 858,249 | 706,737 | 773,142 | 95,136 | 6,157 | 77.9% | 61.8% |

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 04*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| AURORA | 49,894 | 200 | 14,797 | 13,534 | 13,992 | 13,797 | 379 | 142 | 71.0% | 56.8% |
| BATANGAS | 482,645 | 1,443 | 117,044 | 183,946 | 22,867 | 276,567 | 2,311 | 1,073 | 74.4% | 62.4% |
| BATANGAS CITY | 77,976 | 229 | 20,403 | 37,853 | 5,171 | 50,596 | 421 | 202 | 88.2% | 74.7% |
| LIPA CITY | 64,424 | 206 | 19,479 | 30,239 | 7,321 | 38,773 | 3,854 | 194 | 94.2% | 77.2% |
| CAVITE | 435,456 | 1,215 | 160,297 | 122,055 | 142,987 | 128,648 | 8,883 | 1,006 | 82.8% | 64.8% |
| CAVITE CITY | 56,595 | 170 | 24,453 | 12,632 | 22,845 | 12,536 | 1,000 | 133 | 78.2% | 65.5% |
| TAGAYTAY CITY | 11,016 | 33 | 5,060 | 3,132 | 3,468 | 4,630 | 85 | 33 | 100.0% | 74.4% |
| TRECE MARTIRES | 8,749 | 19 | | | | | | | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| LAGUNA | 511,084 | 1,571 | 147,359 | 176,045 | 105,133 | 204,033 | 13,011 | 1,197 | 76.2% | 63.3% |
| SAN PABLO CITY | 77,788 | 276 | 25,068 | 35,229 | 14,838 | 43,717 | 1,771 | 255 | 92.4% | 77.5% |
| MARINDUQUE | 89,289 | 287 | 29,861 | 34,152 | 23,560 | 39,681 | 548 | 239 | 83.3% | 71.7% |
| MINDORO OCC | 110,382 | 337 | 33,879 | 26,940 | 30,751 | 29,048 | 604 | 257 | 76.3% | 55.1% |
| MINDORO OR | 201,895 | 657 | 50,657 | 65,909 | 33,859 | 80,791 | 2,273 | 496 | 75.5% | 57.7% |
| PALAWAN | 157,136 | 519 | 16,738 | 21,225 | 15,323 | 22,227 | 111 | 138 | 26.6% | 24.2% |
| PUERTO PRINCESA C | 41,299 | 105 | 13,582 | 12,410 | 12,998 | 12,621 | 234 | 82 | 78.1% | 62.9% |
| QUEZON | 464,671 | 1,823 | 107,851 | 183,054 | 70,570 | 216,755 | 4,199 | 1,390 | 76.2% | 62.6% |
| LUCENA CITY | 61,991 | 209 | 18,521 | 27,654 | 13,551 | 31,567 | 911 | 200 | 95.7% | 74.5% |
| RIZAL | 376,786 | 1,065 | 121,841 | 152,632 | 127,456 | 129,090 | 16,737 | 998 | 93.7% | 72.8% |
| ROMBLON | 85,222 | 267 | 17,217 | 18,852 | 15,192 | 20,588 | 105 | 150 | 56.2% | 42.3% |
| ROMBLON CITY | | 37 | | | | | | | 0.0% | ERR |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 04 | 3,364,298 | 10,668 | 944,107 | 1,157,493 | 681,882 | 1,355,665 | 57,437 | 8,185 | 76.7% | 62.5% |

## NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
## PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 05*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| ALBAY | 298,882 | 1,095 | 66,674 | 149,854 | 61,450 | 145,024 | 14,871 | 950 | 86.8% | 72.4% |
| LEGASPI CITY | 50,681 | 172 | 15,819 | 24,432 | 14,780 | 24,373 | 1,468 | 159 | 92.4% | 79.4% |
| CAMARINES NORTE | 142,518 | 489 | 32,489 | 66,226 | 30,688 | 67,147 | 536 | 426 | 87.1% | 69.3% |
| CAMARINES SUR | 415,318 | 1,557 | 83,657 | 163,744 | 70,540 | 173,896 | 2,217 | 1,106 | 71.0% | 59.6% |
| IRIGA CITY | 32,778 | 100 | 8,904 | 17,314 | 8,316 | 17,653 | 114 | 96 | 96.0% | 80.0% |
| NAGA CITY | 50,986 | 201 | 10,652 | 29,363 | 8,600 | 32,027 | 291 | 195 | 97.0% | 78.5% |
| CATANDUANES | 78,110 | 362 | 29,072 | 29,359 | 28,786 | 28,165 | 590 | 314 | 86.7% | 74.8% |
| MASBATE | 238,572 | 827 | 57,382 | 78,769 | 53,899 | 79,715 | 2,033 | 610 | 73.8% | 57.1% |
| SORSOGON | 205,358 | 831 | 64,485 | 93,776 | 58,797 | 91,744 | 7,379 | 765 | 92.1% | 77.1% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 05 | 1,513,203 | 5,634 | 369,134 | 652,837 | 335,856 | 659,744 | 29,499 | 4,621 | 82.0% | 67.5% |

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 06*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| AKLAN | 158,815 | 511 | 32,585 | 36,313 | 30,731 | 36,014 | 1,426 | 253 | 49.5% | 43.4% |
| ANTIQUE | 168,904 | 774 | 49,717 | 61,119 | 40,748 | 68,326 | 895 | 584 | 75.5% | 65.6% |
| CAPIZ | 180,932 | 698 | 32,672 | 29,939 | 30,063 | 30,896 | 563 | 295 | 42.3% | 34.6% |
| ROXAS CITY | 44,570 | 154 | | | | | | | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| ILOILO | 581,797 | 2,337 | 167,585 | 139,670 | 145,577 | 133,689 | 18,487 | 1,694 | 72.5% | 61.4% |
| ILOILO CITY | 147,632 | 516 | 55,237 | 63,261 | 51,629 | 59,153 | 7,664 | 512 | 99.2% | 80.3% |
| NEGROS DEL NORTE | 174,034 | 585 | 13,912 | 19,097 | 18,605 | 17,435 | 1,354 | 157 | 26.8% | 19.0% |
| CADIZ CITY | 50,115 | 135 | 391 | 563 | 378 | 522 | 40 | 6 | 4.4% | 1.9% |
| SAN CARLOS CITY | 37,944 | 134 | | | | | | | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| SILAY CITY | 41,298 | 135 | 13,201 | 8,513 | 13,060 | 8,205 | 536 | 88 | 65.2% | 52.6% |
| NEGROS OCC | 354,417 | 1,180 | 132,013 | 86,202 | 122,154 | 89,078 | 14,570 | 954 | 80.8% | 61.6% |
| BACOLOD CITY • | 151,525 | 513 | 53,501 | 66,079 | 52,970 | 56,155 | 10,892 | 504 | 98.2% | 78.9% |
| BAGO CITY | 42,993 | 131 | 15,769 | 10,157 | 15,227 | 9,579 | 611 | 90 | 68.7% | 60.3% |
| LA CARLOTA CITY | 24,760 | 83 | 13,931 | 5,896 | 13,299 | 6,110 | 636 | 80 | 96.4% | 80.1% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 06 | 2,159,736 | 7,886 | 580,514 | 576,809 | 534,441 | 565,662 | 57,674 | 5,217 | 66.2% | 53.6% |

## NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
## PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCUS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 07*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| BOHOL | 378,992 | 1,369 | 135,901 | 127,084 | 137,229 | 124,013 | 1,289 | 1,084 | 79.2% | 69.4% |
| TAGBILARAN CITY | 26,361 | 79 | 8,768 | 13,047 | 10,813 | 10,960 | 148 | 79 | 100.0% | 82.8% |
| CEBU | 619,164 | 2,046 | 181,098 | 205,826 | 179,150 | 203,473 | 1,757 | 1,511 | 73.9% | 62.5% |
| CEBU CITY | 305,087 | 981 | 56,642 | 156,363 | 66,647 | 143,923 | 2,532 | 906 | 92.4% | 69.8% |
| DANAO CITY | 58,696 | 147 | | | | | | | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| LAPU-LAPU CITY | 53,161 | 134 | 21,011 | 21,018 | 21,305 | 20,257 | 378 | 127 | 94.8% | 79.1% |
| MANDAUE CITY | 72,235 | 202 | 14,968 | 42,946 | 15,672 | 39,916 | 529 | 198 | 98.0% | 80.2% |
| TOLEDO CITY | 45,298 | 130 | 13,148 | 19,719 | 13,494 | 19,131 | 98 | 121 | 93.1% | 72.6% |
| NEGROS OR | 314,806 | 1,052 | 102,449 | 104,017 | 104,088 | 101,565 | 2,090 | 959 | 91.2% | 65.6% |
| BAIS CITY | 24,379 | 80 | 8,845 | 9,118 | 8,953 | 9,030 | 20 | 78 | 97.5% | 72.2% |
| CANLAON CITY | 14,647 | 43 | 7,328 | 3,074 | 7,238 | 3,084 | 28 | 42 | 97.7% | 71.0% |
| DUMAGUETE CITY | 37,887 | 150 | 9,656 | 21,191 | 12,027 | 19,173 | 319 | 147 | 98.0% | 81.4% |
| SIQUIJOR | 37,428 | 149 | 10,086 | 5,841 | 10,105 | 5,832 | 6 | 72 | 48.3% | 42.6% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 07 | 1,988,641 | 6,562 | 569,900 | 729,244 | 586,721 | 700,357 | 9,194 | 5,324 | 81.1% | 65.3% |

## N A M F R E L OPERATION QUICK COUNT
## PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 08*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| SAMAR (EASTERN) | 134,528 | 651 | 39,977 | 49,253 | 38,052 | 48,026 | 2,598 | 513 | 78.8% | 66.3% |
| LEYTE | 535,694 | 2,017 | 215,433 | 108,170 | 215,712 | 107,413 | 2,381 | 1,434 | 71.1% | 60.4% |
| ORMOC CITY | 54,628 | 201 | 17,164 | 19,883 | 24,142 | 19,698 | 390 | 170 | 84.6% | 67.8% |
| TACLOBAN CITY | 62,814 | 211 | 31,945 | 18,095 | 31,614 | 17,102 | 1,161 | 205 | 97.2% | 79.7% |
| SAMAR (NORTHERN) | 165,909 | 679 | 52,544 | 43,796 | 47,302 | 44,828 | 3,943 | 532 | 78.4% | 58.1% |
| SAMAR | 172,634 | 863 | 49,440 | 38,367 | 45,347 | 33,030 | 8,730 | 546 | 63.3% | 50.9% |
| CALBAYOG CITY | 48,597 | 206 | 12,905 | 8,778 | 12,551 | 8,480 | 415 | 82 | 39.8% | 44.5% |
| LEYTE (SOUTHERN) | 150,919 | 621 | 46,764 | 45,609 | 46,230 | 46,025 | 311 | 428 | 68.9% | 61.3% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 08 | 1,325,313 | 5,449 | 466,372 | 331,951 | 461,090 | 324,602 | 19,929 | 3,910 | 71.8% | 60.2% |

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO RES VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 09*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| BASILAN | 92,240 | 345 | 8,702 | 13,251 | 9,110 | 12,512 | 599 | 139 | 40.3% | 23.8% |
| SULU | 230,970 | 661 | | | | | | | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| TAWI-TAWI | 73,982 | 287 | 7,209 | 3,731 | 6,936 | 3,860 | 72 | 57 | 19.9% | 14.8% |
| ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE | 181,379 | 805 | 46,505 | 32,982 | 45,256 | 32,961 | 202 | 371 | 46.1% | 43.8% |
| DAPITAN CITY | 27,408 | 100 | 12,339 | 9,474 | 12,363 | 9,204 | 60 | 99 | 99.0% | 79.6% |
| DIPOLOG CITY | 34,417 | 132 | 12,182 | 15,688 | 12,810 | 14,647 | 191 | 132 | 100.0% | 81.0% |
| ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR | 365,739 | 1,336 | 121,066 | 116,776 | 116,549 | 117,926 | 1,379 | 1,173 | 87.8% | 65.0% |
| PAGADIAN CITY | 43,554 | 157 | 13,389 | 16,883 | 13,650 | 16,337 | 407 | 152 | 96.8% | 69.5% |
| ZAMBOANGA CITY | 183,440 | 587 | 44,684 | 66,112 | 52,537 | 57,002 | 1,825 | 538 | 91.7% | 60.4% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 09 | 1,233,129 | 4,410 | 266,076 | 274,897 | 269,211 | 264,449 | 4,735 | 2,661 | 60.3% | 43.9% |

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 10*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| AGUSAN DEL NORTE | 102,132 | 304 | 40,816 | 29,953 | 41,638 | 29,995 | 308 | 255 | 83.9% | 69.3% |
| BUTUAN CITY | 102,569 | 291 | 30,892 | 37,546 | 31,112 | 35,030 | 978 | 261 | 89.7% | 66.7% |
| AGUSAN DEL SUR | 137,939 | 467 | 35,619 | 29,090 | 32,888 | 29,988 | 285 | 252 | 54.0% | 46.9% |
| BUKIDNON | 309,046 | 928 | 94,047 | 97,044 | 94,180 | 97,120 | 2,058 | 752 | 81.0% | 61.8% |
| CAMIGUIN | 30,434 | 91 | 11,140 | 15,477 | 10,600 | 15,305 | 673 | 91 | 100.0% | 87.5% |
| MISAMIS OCC | 113,845 | 450 | 41,094 | 35,425 | 40,404 | 35,881 | 642 | 350 | 77.8% | 67.2% |
| OROQUIETA CITY | 25,486 | 90 | 8,667 | 12,903 | 8,627 | 12,826 | 85 | 89 | 98.9% | 84.6% |
| OZAMIZ CITY | 45,023 | 136 | 12,016 | 21,508 | 9,676 | 23,336 | 185 | 128 | 94.1% | 74.5% |
| TANGUB CITY | 19,210 | 70 | 5,130 | 11,302 | 5,222 | 11,250 | 20 | 70 | 100.0% | 85.5% |
| MISAMIS OR | 186,717 | 573 | 72,727 | 53,074 | 71,700 | 53,608 | 761 | 500 | 87.3% | 67.4% |
| CAGAYAN DE ORO | 149,116 | 404 | 46,198 | 61,223 | 49,726 | 57,075 | 1,464 | 391 | 96.8% | 72.0% |
| GINOOG | 39,238 | 152 | 17,038 | 13,176 | 16,766 | 13,279 | 758 | 142 | 93.4% | 77.0% |
| SURIGAO DEL NORTE | 149,801 | 530 | 46,724 | 42,433 | 45,228 | 42,976 | 784 | 409 | 77.2% | 59.5% |
| SURIGAO CITY | 45,245 | 146 | 12,515 | 20,583 | 12,785 | 19,540 | 618 | 140 | 95.9% | 73.2% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 10 | 1,455,801 | 4,632 | 474,623 | 480,737 | 470,552 | 477,209 | 9,619 | 3,830 | 82.7% | 65.6% |

COMELEC COUNT
08 February 1986
6:00 am

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | 39,878 | 53,261 |
| I | 32,372 | 13,102 |
| II | 5,849 | 1,104 |
| III | 7,152 | 13,504 |
| IV | 10,048 | 14,070 |
| V | 5,411 | 11,273 |
| VI | 1,174 | 883 |
| VII | 2,694 | 4,954 |
| VIII | 8,231 | 4,844 |
| IX | 899 | 1,132 |
| X | 16,874 | 12,721 |
| XI | 3,267 | 4,297 |
| XII | 2,044 | 3,367 |
| TOTAL-President | 135,893 | 138,512 |

COMELEC COUNT
08 February 1986
12:50 noon

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | | |
| I | | |
| II | 12,091 | 2,691 |
| III | 36,370 | 41,081 |
| IV | 73,729 | 80,614 |
| V | 21,207 | 38,985 |
| VI | 10,161 | 9,787 |
| VII | 7,342 | 11,985 |
| VIII | 12,637 | 8,162 |
| IX | 3,620 | 4,486 |
| X | 22,958 | 17,224 |
| XI | 8,746 | 11,377 |
| XII | 3,398 | 7,098 |
| TOTAL-president | 379,497 | 401,698 |

COMELEC COUNT
08 February 1986
2:50 pm

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | | |
| I | 73,285 | 28,681 |
| II | 13,587 | 3,814 |
| III | 36,370 | 41,089 |
| IV | | 81,689 |
| V | 21,207 | 38,985 |
| VI | 10,161 | 9,787 |
| VII | 7,342 | 11,985 |
| VIII | 15,692 | |
| IX | 3,620 | 4,486 |
| X | 24,415 | 19,383 |
| XI | 11,443 | 13,814 |
| XII | 4,998 | 8,917 |
| TOTAL-President | 415,082 | 424,029 |

COMELEC COUNT
08 FEBRUARY 1986
6:00 p.m.

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | 193,055 | 266,325 |
| I | | |
| II | 36,512 | 10,506 |
| III | 55,147 | 77,569 |
| IV | 98,809 | 110,813 |
| V | 41,591 | 78,295 |
| VI | 10,161 | 9,787 |
| VII | 21,104 | 26,331 |
| VIII | 27,115 | 16,919 |
| IX | | |
| X | 44,608 | 46,632 |
| XI | 17,955 | 20,895 |
| XII | 11,307 | 19,183 |
| TOTALS-President | 673,428 | 732,572 |

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
1:35 p.m.

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | 651,192 | 818,764 |
| I | 392,953 | 166,546 |
| II | 107,893 | 40,620 |
| III | 190,916 | 213,034 |
| IV | 312,290 | 351,433 |
| V | 108,280 | 202,899 |
| VI | 88,947 | 77,246 |
| VII | 109,600 | 151,452 |
| VIII | 79,520 | 49,307 |
| IX | 61,161 | 74,865 |
| X | 126,933 | 123,056 |
| XI | 65,410 | 92,805 |
| XII | 62,817 | 75,407 |
| TOTALS-President | 2,357,912 | 2,450,495 |
| VPresident | 1,911,744 | 2,319,362 |

Percentage of
precincts reported 22.9%

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
7:30 p.m.

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | | |
| I | | |
| II | 114,762 | 46,206 |
| III | 197, | |
| IV | 318,505 | 357,525 |
| V | 110,139 | 206,992 |
| VI | 95,411 | 81,321 |
| VII | 109,600 | 151,452 |
| VIII | 87,839 | 53,711 |
| IX | 63,281 | 77,885 |
| X | 130,973 | 126,089 |
| XI | 65,410 | 92,805 |
| XII | 66,395 | 92,962 |
| TOTALS-President | 2,586,472 | 2,554,316 |
| VPresident | 2,442,725 | 2,414,857 |

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
8:50 pm

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | 651,192 | 818,764 |
| I | 575,782 | 229,023 |
| II | 114,762 | 46,208 |
| III | 197,183 | 219,579 |
| IV | 318,505 | 357,525 |
| V | 110,139 | 206,992 |
| VI | 95,411 | 81,321 |
| VII | 109,600 | 151,452 |
| VIII | 87,839 | 53,711 |
| IX | 63,281 | 77,885 |
| X | 130,973 | 126,089 |
| XI | 65,410 | 92,805 |
| XII | 66,395 | 92,962 |
| TOTAL-President | 2,586,472 | 2,554,316 |
| VPresident | 2,442,725 | 2,414,857 |

COMELEC COUNT
09 February 1986
9:30 p.m.

| | MARCOS | AQUINO |
|---|---|---|
| NCR | | |
| I | | |
| II | | |
| III | 208,170 | 238,340 |
| IV | 358,944 | 412,347 |
| V | 118,479 | 222,399 |
| VI | 114,885 | 101,910 |
| VII | 132,039 | 170,106 |
| VIII | 90,504 | 55,826 |
| IX | 64,400 | 84,959 |
| X | 154,158 | 144,688 |
| XI | 71,059 | 99,165 |
| XII | 67,778 | 96,333 |
| TOTALS -President | 3,051,236 | 2,903,348 |
| VPresident | 2,877,088 | 2,777,496 |

N A M F R E L OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 11*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| COTABATO (SOUTH) | 289,175 | 866 | 83,745 | 110,893 | 76,977 | 96,970 | 18,352 | 790 | 91.2% | 67.3% |
| GEN. SANTOS CTY | 89,113 | 253 | 20,243 | 35,726 | 19,875 | 29,964 | 5,720 | 238 | 94.1% | 62.8% |
| DAVAO DEL SUR | 243,633 | 716 | 81,198 | 62,734 | 78,662 | 62,679 | 1,737 | 544 | 76.0% | 59.1% |
| DAVAO CITY | 363,836 | 1,075 | 109,465 | 139,190 | 118,482 | 124,386 | 6,956 | 996 | 92.7% | 68.4% |
| DAVAO DEL NORTE | 415,005 | 1,198 | 140,187 | 124,883 | 134,986 | 129,206 | 2,085 | 1,000 | 83.5% | 63.9% |
| DAVAO ORIENTAL | 164,233 | 497 | 40,651 | 63,948 | 38,685 | 65,177 | 726 | 447 | 89.9% | 63.7% |
| SURIGAO DEL SUR | 188,984 | 573 | 53,567 | 72,430 | 53,292 | 71,153 | 449 | 522 | 91.1% | 66.7% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 11 | 1,753,779 | 5,178 | 529,056 | 609,804 | 520,959 | 579,535 | 36,025 | 4,537 | 87.6% | 64.9% |

NAMFREL OPERATION QUICK COUNT
PROVINCIAL TALLY

| PROVINCE | REG NO VOTERS | NO. OF PRECINTS | MARCOS | AQUINO | TOLENTINO | LAUREL | KALAW | PRECINCTS IN | % | % TO REG VOTERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***REGION 12*** | | | | | | | | | | |
| COTABATO (NORTH) | 283,009 | 873 | 70,468 | 86,464 | 68,085 | 83,221 | 2,819 | 721 | 82.6% | 55.5% |
| LANAO DEL NORTE | 139,791 | 649 | 26,325 | 29,564 | 26,094 | 29,056 | 232 | 255 | 39.3% | 29.4% |
| ILIGAN CITY | 95,602 | 279 | 23,127 | 42,322 | 27,552 | 37,197 | 558 | 263 | 94.3% | 68.5% |
| LANAO DEL SUR | 242,164 | 1,357 | 9,745 | 5,338 | 8,520 | 5,181 | 16 | 116 | 8.5% | 6.2% |
| MARAWI CITY | 39,454 | 154 | 11,555 | 7,721 | 10,097 | 8,683 | 81 | 111 | 72.1% | 48.9% |
| MAGUINDANAO | 332,575 | 928 | 44,726 | 25,588 | 40,334 | 26,802 | 1,672 | 312 | 33.6% | 21.1% |
| COTABATO CITY | 49,044 | 150 | 8,743 | 19,021 | 10,111 | 16,929 | 561 | 150 | 100.0% | 56.6% |
| SULTAN KUDARAT | 141,622 | 419 | 28,352 | 26,114 | 27,266 | 23,979 | 2,417 | 219 | 52.3% | 38.5% |
| SUB-TOTAL, Reg 12 | 1,373,261 | 4,809 | 223,041 | 242,132 | 218,059 | 231,048 | 8,356 | 2,147 | 44.6% | 33.9% |

(Exhibit Y)

SOURCE: BUSINESS DAY
Tuesday, February 11, 1986

| NATIONWIDE TALLY | As of 8 pm<br>February 10<br>COMELEC | % | As of 12 M.N.<br>February 10<br>NAMFREL | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MARCOS | 3,813,688 | 51.37 | 5,971,693 | 47.28 |
| AQUINO | 3,610,099 | 48.63 | 6,658,838 | 52.72 |
| TOLENTINO | 3,539,439 | 48.40 | 5,620,591 | 44.50 |
| LAUREL | 3,463,108 | 46.65 | 6,433,250 | 50.93 |

COMELEC COUNT
11 February 1986
7:-20 p.m.

| MARCOS | % | VOTE DIFFERENCE | & | AQUINO | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5,899,873 | 52.28 | 515,505 | 4.57 | 5,384,368 | 47.72 |
| TOLENTINO | | | | LAUREL | |
| 5,636,386 | 51.76 | 383,996 | 3.53 | 5,252,390 | 48.24 |

Count as of 5:00 p.m. direct from COMELEC

COMELEC COUNT
12 February 1986
7:00 a.m.

| MARCOS | % | VOTE DIFFERENCE | % | AQUINO | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6,449,522 | 52.20% | 543,316 | 4.40% | 5,906,206 | 47.80% |
| TOLENTINO | | | | LAUREL | |
| 6,142,225 | 51.55% | 368,841 | 3.10% | 5,773,384 | 48.45% |

NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF TOTAL PRECINCTS REPORTED

COMELEC COUNT
13 February 1986
8:00 a.m.

| MARCOS | % | VOTE DIFFERENCE | % | AQUINO | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7,164,392 | 52.34% | 640,823 | 4.68% | 6,523,569 | 47.66% |
| TOLENTINO | | | | LAUREL | |
| 6,834,744 | 51.74% | 459,424 | 3.48% | 6,375,320 | 48.26% |

PERCENTAGE OF PRECEINTS COUNTED: 64%